The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1872.

The Week.

THE Greeley and Brown electoral colleges cast their votes for a rather surprising variety of candidates, the opportunity for conference having been denied them, as Mr. Greeley died just a week before their meeting, and was carried to his grave in Greenwood on the very day they met. Mr. Hendricks, Mr. Gratz Brown, Mr. David Davis, Mr. Charles Jenkins of Georgia, were among the persons who received votes (or a vote, as was Mr. Davis's case) for the Presidency; and Mr. Gratz Brown, Mr. A. H. Colquitt, Mr. N. P. Banks, Mr. Geo. W. Julian, Mr. W. O. Groesbeck, and General J. M. Palmer, got votes, or a vote, for the Vice-Presidency. There were but sixty-six votes, all told, cast in these colleges, the Greeley and Brown ticket having carried but six States. Governor Brown's own State gave him eight votes out of fifteen for the Presidency, and six out of fifteen for the Vice-Presidency, the six who voted for keeping him in his own secondary place on the ticket probably being the six who gave their votes to Mr. Hendricks. This gentleman is the evident favorite of the party just at present. The curious upshot of the election has, of course, set everybody to pondering on the constitution and uses and possible dangers of the electoral colleges, and there is a universal feeling that they must be done away with. They form the one portion of our system of checks and balances which has made the most conspicuous and utter failure. The electors have been made into a purely ministerial body; and while, if they all met together in one college, they would still never dare to be independent, as it was originally meant that they should be, meeting in thirty-seven separate colleges there is great danger of corruption. Suppose the Cameron and Morton party had wanted four votes of an election, and Mr. Greeley had, nevertheless, died of excitement, where should we have been then? It is highly probable that a certain number of electors might have been corrupted, especially considering that the nominating conventions at Cincinnati and Baltimore were as careless as usual concerning the character of the Vice-Presidential candidate, who could not well have held his electors together. Luckily, we live under a constitution a chief merit of which is that it contains a provision for its own amendment.

The most important political news outside of Washington comes from the South, but it comes in such a shape that exactly what to make of it all is not very clear. In Louisiana, the case appears to be about as follows: The Republicans have there had in force as to registration and the other machinery of the ballot a very stringent law, designed to secure their own political ascendancy, and this had to be worked by the executive officers of the State. Such inventions proverbially return to plague the inventors, and when the Republicans split, Warmoth, who took one side, while the Federal officials took the other, was very nearly able with color of law to put himself in control of the Legislature, by cheating of an audacious character, and get himself sent to Washington as senator. Packard, the Marshal, and Casey, the Collector, were determined that he should not; and no sooner had he issued his proclamation declaring the Greeley electors elected and Kellogg defeated for the governorship, than the power of the United States District Court and of the "Enforcement Act" was invoked. As we understand it, the court ruled that it had jurisdiction over the returning board as regards the State election as well as regards that for the Presidential electors. Concerning the latter there is, we believe, no doubt; but there has been fear that the popular doubt concerning the jurisdiction in the former case might lead to a riot, which it is alleged

Warmoth did everything in his power to incite, but without success. At this writing he appears to be overthrown and in the clutch of his enemies, for the Lieutenant-Governor, having informed the Kellogg Legislature that Warmoth on Sunday night last came to him at midnight and offered him fifty thousand dollars and unlimited appointments in return for his assistance, the Legislature at once impeached Warmoth, the Senate has been convened for his trial, and flight or conviction seems likely to close his wonderful eareer. The Democracy, who may be pardoned for not knowing exactly what to do, are playing into the hands of the Radical Republicans by supporting Warmoth, because he represents "State Rights." They ask for a Military Governor rather than Kellogg. The whole affair is frightful, or would be if the future of republican institutions lay wholly in Louisiana.

In Alabama things are worse rather than better. There the Republican candidate for governor, Mr. Lewis, was undoubtedly elected, and has taken his seat. It is probable, though it is not certain, that a Republican majority was elected to the General Assembly; but it is certain that a Democratic majority held the regular certificates of election, though it is alleged that in the case of the members from two counties these certificates represented not votes, but frauds perpetrated by Democratic election officers, who threw out negro votes. To complicate matters still further, the Democrats got possession of the State House, which is, of course, the usual place of convening the Assembly, and according to the forms of law they were organized into a Senate and House by the officers who held over from the preceding Assembly, and who were Democrats. Being so organized, the Democratic outgoing governor recognized them as the Assembly. Certainly it would seem at this distance as if the incoming governor exceeded his power when, going behind the certificates and the forms of law, he made enquiry into the alleged frauds, and asserted men not to be members whose cases were surely subjects for the courts to examine. He did so, however, and it is probable that Mr. Spencer will get his senatorship, which is probably at the bottom of all this wrangle. It is probable, too, we are bound to say, that the Democrats did do some cheating in the election. Arkansas also is in difficulties as well as Alabama; but her case is not so well developed. The "Liberals," so far as we make out, asserted, on the strength of votes polled at other than the legally designated polling-places, that they had carried the State for Greeley and Brown; but the regular Republican electors formed the college and cast the vote for Grant and Wilson; and beyond peradventure, it is this vote which will be counted by the President of the Senate next March.

In South Carolina the Legislature, to call it a Legislature, has been voting for a senator to take the place of Senator Sawyer. Elliott, a colored man, and a representative elect, was a candidate; so was Scott, and so was a man called Patterson. Patterson bought the necessary number of votes, though whether Scott or Elliot sold out the most of them, or was the most sold out, is not stated. Patterson has been arrested for bribery, rescued, rearrested and put in jail, got out on a writ of habeas corpus, and at this writing is ready for Washington. He would be a good man for chairman of one of the committees, and we recommend him to Messrs. Edmunds, Conkling, and Morton. Cameron already knows him.

The affidavits taken in Gould's case have thrown some additional light on the great Erie "Reform Movement" of a year ago, though for the public at large the obscurity is still so dense that a good many more rays could be endured. The true history of the movement was this. The English stockholders (owning the larger part of the stock—between forty and fifty millions), having become

alarmed at the robberies of Fisk and Gould, appointed a committee in London to protect their interest, and to regain, if possible, possession of the road. This committee, afterwards uniting with American shareholders owning about twenty millions of the stock, secured the repeal of the "Classification Act," through which Fisk and Gould kept themselves in power, and the passage of a new act making a fair election of a new board of directors possible. Meantime, however, a new interest had arisen which complicated all the proceedings. One of the members of the London Committee, a man named Bischoffsheim (Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidt), owned some of the stock of the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad, a line connecting with Erie, and running into the "heart of the Great West." The road was and is a worthless concern, with a debt which has run up from forty to over a hundred millions, and an income of perhaps two. Bischoffsheim and his friends saw that the Erie was still a valuable property, and that their own was not. They therefore formed a plan to get control of both roads, and then fasten the Atlantic and Great Western on Erie, and let it eat up the profits of that unfortunate line. Controlling, as they soon did, the Atlantic and Great Western, the next step to be taken was to get hold of Erie. As soon as their design became manifest, Bischoffsheim was forced to resign-or at any rate did resign-from the English Committee, and he and his friends began to act for themselves. Sickles was now called in, and sent to this country as the agent of the Bischoffsheim and Great Western party.

When Sickles arrived, Gould was still in possession, and it was obvious that if the Sickles-Bischoffsheim party waited till the legislature repealed the Classification Act, and permitted a fair election, they would only have such opportunity to get hold of the direction as their Erie stock entitled them to. They therefore determined to steal the road; and for this purpose the great " Reform Movement" was organized; a melodramatic attack and a melodramatic defence of the road were got up. Sickles, appearing as the leader of the bold band of public-spirited men, determined to drive the thieves out; an enormous amount of journalistic sympathy was excited; and while the public were clapping their hands with delight, Sickles and Gould retired into a private room, to come to terms. Gould knew that he had only a short-lived lease of power, and that he owed the road some ten millions of dollars, stolen by himself and Fisk; but he still had the means of letting into the direction of the road any one he pleased, by resignations, under a legislative power. The terms, therefore, agreed upon were, that Gould should receive a release from Erie of all claims from the beginning of the world, and should, as an equivalent, let in nine directors (a majority) in the interest of Atlantic and Great Western. Accordingly, Gould and his friends resigned one by one, the Atlantic and Great Western men coming in to fill the vacancies. The fraud would now have been consummated, but it was too monstrous. The stock of the Atlantic and Great Western was refused recognition by the Stock Exchange; the "reformers" were obliged to wait for quieter times. Under the new law, an election was soon held, and the present board came in, with Mr. Watson at the head, and S. L. M. Barlow, who is one of the Atlantic and Great Western men, as counsel. Whether Erie will again be stolen depends on circumstances. At the time of the Sickles movement, by the way, facts showing the real character of the reformers' plans were sent to one of the chief daily papers of this city, but they were suppressed.

There is a great uproar raging in what the reporters call "insurance circles" over the proposal of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, the oldest and richest in the country, with over 77,000 policyholders, to reduce the cost of insurance by about twenty per cent. It says, through its officers and actuary, that it has found after thirty years' experience that its charges are needlessly high, and

its surplus needlessly large. As a reduction of this amount on its part would drive the smaller and weaker companies out of existence, and as the question touches the dearest interests of \$00,000 persons or thereabouts, it has given rise to a controversy of extraordinary fierceness, in which the actuaries marshal the opposing battalions and belabor each other with mathematical formulæ. Professor Bartlett maintains the fight for the Mutual, while Messrs. Elizur Wright, Sheppard Homans, and D. P. Fackler assail the proposed change on behalf of the other companies, while the blackmailers and freelances by whom the realms of insurance are harried, publish attacks on the personal character of the officers of the Mutual.

The case of the company is, that, basing its business on the American table of mortality and four per cent. interest for money, it charges the assured an average or general rate, no matter what the age, of \$1884, adding to this forty per cent. for expenses-\$754, or, in all, \$2638. It has now found, after thirty years' experience, that these premiums are unnecessarily large, and it proposes to cut them down over twenty per cent., and maintains that it can do so with perfect safety to existing as well as future policy-holders. The actuary indulges in some rhetoric about the philanthropy of the proposed change and the desirableness of bringing life insurance within the reach of the laboring classes which he had better have avoided. There is no more place for philanthropy in insurance calculations than in bank ledgers. The opposition maintain, on the other hand, that if the precautions the company has been taking hitherto are not necessary to its safety, the calculations on which it has been inviting confidence have been a sham, and it ought not, therefore, to expect people to rely on those it now puts forward; that the proposed reduction will not amount on the average to more than ten per cent.; that in reality it will, in the actual working, increase rather than diminish the surplus which the company now says is too large; that the plan cannot be carried out without injustice to existing stockholders, and a decrease in their security; that the reserves of the old policies will be used as capital in getting new business, while the old policy-holders cannot be reimbursed from the profits of the new business, as the new members, being "mutual," will be entitled to any surplus that may accrue from their own premiums.

The failure of Messrs. Bowles, the American bankers in Paris and London, would be sufficiently discreditable and annoying even if it had not been accompanied by gross frauds. One of the brothers, the only one on whom the police has been able to lay hands-though he appears to be the least culpable-is now under examination before the London magistrates for making away with the bonds and other securities committed to the firm for safe keeping by unfortunate travellers. The way the business of the firm was conductedthe care and forwarding of baggage and the furnishing of assistance in finding lodgings and making purchases being the principal feature of it-made it very attractive to the poorer or more helpless class of travellers, and there are, therefore, we fear, a considerable number of unprotected women, country ministers, and simpleminded people of both sexes among the victims of the failure. This leads us to say that the publishers of European guide-books for popular use incur a serious responsibility in recommending bankers to travellers. This is often done, and has been done in two or three instances by prominent houses in the case of Bowles Brothers, apparently for no better reason than that the firm advertised in the guide-book, and certainly we are bound to believe without enquiry as to their standing; the firm has been set down as "shaky" by the mercantile agencies for some time back-their capital, until Mr. Appleton went in, not having exceeded \$50,000. No publisher has any business to recommend any banker, unless of the oldest and highest standing; and we warn all travellers, and

especially women, that it is probably dangerous, and may expose them to great inconvenience, to go to Europe with a letter of credit from any but the best houses. No banker is a bit too good for the poorest traveller, because a political revolution, or fire, or war, or sickness, or shipwreck, or who knows what, may land him moneyless in some out-of-the-way place where it will make all the difference in the world to him in the matter of raising money whether he can draw on the Browns, or the Barings, or the Rothschilds, or on only Jones or Smith. The United States Government, we know, set a bad and deluding example on this point lately by substituting as its foreign banker a gentleman of the name of Clews for the Barings; but there was "politics" in that, and private citizens must not be taken in by it. As a general rule, too, we may say that all bankers who, besides keeping your money, offer to run errands for you, and black your boots, and carry your parcels, and take you to the milliner's, and the hair-dresser's, and the trousseaux shop, and find peanuts, squash pie, buckwheat cakes, and baked beans for you in Paris, are so far dangerous.

The contest between President Thiers and the French Assembly, which has been raging for the last fortnight, arose first, as we pointed out last week, out of his open declaration of his readiness to take the Republic as the definitive form of government, and his advocacy of its immediate proclamation. This the Right, or Conservative party, looked on as a virtual breach of the Pact of Bordeaux, and they began forthwith to suspect him of secret complicity with the Radicals, or, at all events, of courting Gambetta's alliance, and marking out the latter, whom they nicknamed "The Dauphin," as his successor in the Presidential chair. Thiers has been, in the meantime, working hard and hopefully to secure a majority in the Chamber, by flattery and concessions to each side, and showed himself very indifferent as to the materials of which this majority was made up, being apparently quite ready to include the Left in it, and studiously avoiding offence to Gambetta in his speeches. This increased the exasperation of the Right, which determined finally to force him to declare bimself with regard to Gambetta; and this job was undertaken by old General Changarnier, in a determined attack made under the form of an "interpellation" with regard to the ex-Dictator's recent inflammatory address at Grenoble. M. Thiers met him in his now usual manner, treating all questioning of a man of his age and antecedents touching his attachment to "the principles of social order" as personally offensive, while Gambetta remained studiously silent, and, as it seemed to the Right, by preconcerted arrangement. M. Thiers has expressed his willingness to appeal to the country, or, in other words, to have the Assembly dissolved, but the Assembly refuses to be dissolved as long as the powers of the Executive are unsettled, well knowing, say the champions of the Right, that the popular vote in France is apt to be what the Executive likes to make it, if the "chief of the state" enjoys full powers of interference.

The Left replies, on the other hand, that the Assembly is not a constituent body; that it was elected to make peace, and this only; that it has no right to exercise the powers of government one minute after this object has been accomplished; and that it is the country, and the country alone, which is competent to decide between it and the President. The Right rejoins that, in using the phrase "appeal to the country" in the sense in which it is used in England and America, the Left is guilty of an attempt at deception; that a dissolution of the Assembly now would be looked on by the people as a revolutionary measure and as leaving France without a government; and that French electors would then be terribly frightened about "order," and do what they have always done under similar circumstances—support the man in actual possession of power—so as to make sure of tranquillity any-

how; but M. Thiers, who is now in possession of power, is no longer neutral; he has committed himself freely to the Republican cause, and, for aught they know, is in alliance with the Radicals; and that, therefore, before the appeal is taken, his powers must be limited and defined, and the supremacy of the Assembly formally asserted. It objects, in particular, to his uniting in his own person the functions of a responsible minister and of a constitutional monarch. It says, if he comes down to the Assembly and takes part in the debates, he must submit himself to the majority in all things; while if he is to be a permanent President, his means of objecting to legislation must be confined to a veto, under the usual conditions. The result of the fight thus far has been the election, on the motion of the Minister of the Interior, of a commission composed of thirty members, who are to define the powers and regulate the responsibility of the various branches of the government. There are on it. as elected, 19 members of the Right, and 11 from the other shades of opinion, viz., the Left and Left Centre-the latter being composed of moderate liberals, who are ready either for constitutional monarchy or a republic, whichever offers the best chance of repose and liberty. The kind of compromise with M. Thiers which seems probable or possible is the acceptance by the Right of the Republic de facto, the responsibility of the ministry, and the re-a change of ministry, the new one being composed of very good men, but it is evidently only "transitional."

The Counties Reform Bill has at last been passed in the Prussian Herrenhaus, by a majority of 116 to 91. The contest between the Crown and the Lords has been long and bitter, but the result is decisive of the future course of Prussian politics. The Junker party is ruined beyond redemption, and the Government fairly committed to the policy of constitutional reform. The Prussian monarchy has been built up, like the French monarchy, by the consolidation of provinces, but the work of consolidation has been carried on from the throne downwards; that is, the king took from time to time all the authority he could from the feudal nobility, but the organization below them he left untouched. Consequently, there was not until now any homogeneous basis for the monarchy. The kingdom was made up of provinces and departments, counties and communes, but there was among them all no political unit, like the New England town or the English county. Between nearly every commune and county there was a difference of origin and organization. communes were democratic, others thoroughly feudal, and the feudal aristocracy of Eastern Prussia especially has really done so much for the monarchy that it has preserved down to our day an arrogance long extinct everywhere else, and which it would well repay a political observer to make a journey to witness. However, the times are changed; thrones can no longer rest on the allegiance of old houses and the fidelity of vassals. It now takes a whole people to make a state, and Bismarck has found it out, and the poor Junkers go to the wall. The county now becomes the unit of the Prussian system; its limits are defined; its government reorganized; and its power over the communes extended; the peasantry are admitted to an equal share of representation in the county assemblies; the privileges of the aristocracy of birth are curtailed, and a property qualification substituted for some of them; and the county assemblies have the right to select candidates for the Landrath, or provincial assembly, whom the king may, and probably always will, appoint, instead of selecting them himself, as heretofore. In short, the whole process is one which thoughtful Frenchmen can bardly witness without thinking sadly of "what might have been," for it is the very one through which France in 1789 ought to have set out in quest of the Promised Land. A curious illustration of the state of mind of the Junkers is afforded by a letter from a member of the Herrenhaus to the London Times, in which he alleges that the king is making a terrible mistake, in support of which position he cites "Machiavelli, Discorsi, lib. 3, cap. 5."

MR. BOUTWELL'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.

WHENEVER we hear anybody denying the existence of a "science of political economy," and bragging of his ignorance of it, we always feel sure that what he really means is not that be denies the value or existence of the political economy of other people, but that he has somewhere a science of political economy of his own in which he has the profoundest faith. For instance, those gentlemen in Pennsylvania who look on the political economy of Adam Smith, and Turgot, and Say, and Mill, and Ricardo with utter contempt, have a political economy of their own, invented by Mr. Henry C. Carey of Philadelphia, for the generalizations of which they have reverence which we think nobody has ever accorded to those of the other writers we have named. They will tell you in one breath that there are no such things as "economical laws," and in the next that Carey's economical laws are among the most beautiful discoveries in the whole field of human knowledge, and that a nation which bases its legislation on them cannot go wrong. In like manner, Mr. Boutwell, great as is his scorn for "the dismal science," is far from dispensing with a knowledge of the laws which regulate production, distribution, and consumption; on the contrary, he has a system of them at his fingers' ends and in constant use, but, instead of being compiled by Adam Smith, they are the work of George S. Boutwell. He denies, we believe, also, the existence of a science of finance, and boasts that he has never read a book on finance; but by that he simply means that he does not think the experience of the human race during the last three thousand years in the matter of raising and spending revenue of any value; he does not mean that his own views, based on his own experience, are of no value, or do not furnish a sure guide in dealing with the various fiscal problems of the day. Indeed, it is almost a waste of time for us to offer this explanation on his behalf. The man who says that he is acting in any important business of life without a theory, or, in other words, is simply "a practical man," confesses himself either a fool or a knave. When we offer goods for sale at a certain price, we act on a theory as to the intensity of certain public wants, based on our own or our neighbors' experience of the habits and tastes of the society in which we live. When we go to borrow money of a banker, we base our application on a theory of his mode of doing business, and of his probable aim in lending money, based partly on our knowledge of human nature and partly on our knowledge of the customs of the class to which he belongs. If a man says he is going to open a store or borrow money without any regard to the conditions of trade or the requirements of money-lenders, we look on him as a lunatic, or any man who says so is apt to be a lunatic. Accordingly, when Mr. Boutwell denies that the theories of finance found in books are of any value, what he means to say is, that they are of small value compared to his own.

For instance, it is the opinion of all the great economists of the world, excepting Mr. Henry C. Carey, that man, being by nature a producing and trading animal, the freer play you give his faculties -that is, the less you trammel him by burdens, rules, and regulations-the more rapidly will he create wealth; and the less any two or three men attempt to substitute their judgment in the work of production for the active intelligence of the whole mass, the more prosperous will the country be. Therefore, it is the opinion of most economists that, when a nation is heavily burdened with debt, the wisest way of meeting the liability is to put the payment off as long as possible, so as to give people time to multiply, labor, and accumulate, and so lessen the weight of the burden. Mr. Boutwell does not say that no opinion on this subject is of any value. He says that his own opinion is the best, and he therefore devotes himself soul and body to the payment of the public debt in the shortest possible period, without regard to the condition of industry or of the carrency. In this, we think, however, he is right, as long as his daties are so largely ministerial as they are now. He has been directed by law to apply certain moneys to the reduction of the debt, and if he failed to do so he would be guilty of malversation.

The only fault we can find with him is, that he supports the system which he is engaged in carrying out with all the influence at his command.

In his last report, however, he uses this influence in support of three theories of his own political economy which are totally opposed to the conclusions of political economy commonly so called. He recommends the Government to induce people to run steamers on the Pacific Ocean between California and Japan and China, by promising to compensate them for the loss which they would be sure to sustain in the undertaking. The subsidization of lines of steamers by Government has not been uncommon in other countries. The excuses offered for the practice have been either (1) that quick and regular communication has thus been secured with places with which there would otherwise be no communication at all, or no communication that was not slow and irregular; or (2) that steamers were thus kept ready for sea, which would be useful in case of the sudden outbreak of war; or (3) that a supply of sailors was thus kept up for the military navy. Mr. Boutwell does not defend his plan on any of these grounds. He acknowledges that quick, cheap, and regular transit between the United States and China and Japan will probably be supplied by foreigners at once, at less cost than Americans could supply it; and of the value of the enterprise for warlike purposes he evidently and properly cares nothing. What he says is, that an increase in our commercial marine "would give a wonderful impetus to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country." By an "increase in our commercial marine" he does not mean an increase simply in the number of ships owned by Americans and used in the carrying trade. This could be brought about at once by allowing Americans to buy ships in the same yards in which the English buy them, and pay for them with their own products. To this Mr. Boutwell is inflexibly opposed. To him, no number of ships carrying the American flag would do the country any good, unless they were constructed by American builders-there being some mysterious influence, apparently, in the place of a ship's birth on her capacity for making money. The only "increase in our commercial marine" which would produce the wonderful results which the laws of his political economy enable him to predict so confidently, is an increase caused by an agreement on the part of the Government to pay people for engaging in a losing business. The phrase "wonderful impetus to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country," though used by politicians somewhat loosely and vaguely, means, when we analyze it, that those now engaged in agriculture and manufactures will be induced to produce more largely, and large numbers of other persons be induced to devote their capital and their labor to similar pursuits. According to the old political economy, the work of production in any given place, or at any given time, is mainly stimulated by the opening of new markets, or, in other words, by the increase of demand. That cheap and regular communication with China and Japan would open up new markets there is no denying; but this Mr. Boutwell does not propose to furnish. In fact, his position is that the English and French and Germans are making rapid preparations to carry our goods to these countries more cheaply and expeditiously than we can do it ourselves, and that they will certainly do it unless our Government intervenes and furnishes transportation, to be paid for partly by the consumer of the goods, and partly by contributions levied in form of taxation on all the citizens of the United States.

It is, therefore, not cheap and ready access to the markets which Mr. Boutwell thinks will stimulate production, but transportation in ships owned and built by particular persons. According to the old political economy, the ownership of the ship which is to carry his goods to market is a circumstance of no consequence whatever to the manufacturer or farmer. Under the economical laws of Adam Smith, when a capitalist is deciding whether he will invest or produce, he examines first the cost of production in the place of production, and then the rates of freight to the place of sale. Where the man was born, or

to what sovereign he owes allegiance, who owns the wagon or the ship which is to do the work of transportation, he never thinks of enquiring. According to Mr. Boutwell, however, the owner's domicile or place of nativity is the principal fact. The capitalist, under his system, who would fold his arms if an Englishman or Frenchman offered to carry his goods to Canton at \$5 a ton, will immediately begin to erect machinery or clear land on hearing that an American will do it at the same price. These views may be correct, but down among the shippers in South Street they would excite much hilarity, those gentlemen being still under the influence of the ancient delusion that the use of ships is to carry things, and that the maintenance of ships as a matter of personal or national pride is yachting, and not business.

It is a well-established doctrine of the old political economy, that the trouble which men used to give themselves about "the balance of trade" was a chimæra of their own imagination; that each individual, in either buying from or selling to foreigners, does what is best for his own interest, which he understands better than anybody else; and that what is best for his interest is best for that of the country; that what is true of one person is true of ten thousand; and that when ten thousand persons engaged in foreign trade square their accounts at the close of the year, and their books show that they have received more from foreigners than they gave, it is as absurd for any man, no matter what he calls himself-vizier, manamouchi, secretary of the treasury, or chairman of committee-to begin wailing over their folly, and predicting their ruin, as it would be for him to go into the counting-house of a single merchant and tell him he acted madly in selling American bonds in London, or in sending specie over to pay for his silks. On the other hand, under Mr. Boutwell's system, any person whom General Grant may select for a seat in his Cabinet, or any half-dozen men whom Simon Cameron's caucus may choose to put on the Senate Committee on Finance, is presumed capable of directing all the great merchants of the country in the conduct of their foreign trade; and we have in Mr. Boutwell's last report an expression of sorrow over the unsatisfactory way in which they have been carrying on their business, though he himself has never had any experience of any foreign trade or even of any wholesale domestic trade.

According to the old political economy, which on this point, more than on any other, bases its conclusions on the experience of many nations and many ages, nothing can be more dangerous than to lodge in the hands of any one man, or body of men, the power of increasing or diminishing the volume of the currency-or, in other words, the power of raising and lowering the price of commodities and changing the real amount to be paid under contracts. It has never, or almost never, been committed to anybody without its being abused. The old kings abused it by adulterating the coinage; modern governments have abused it by issuing vast quantities of paper promises to pay. It is now, therefore, a well-settled canon of the economists that such issues are only permissible, if permissible at all, as a supreme military necessity, like the burning of a bridge or the destruction of a railroad; that in times of peace, at all events, paper money should only be issued in compliance with the demands of trade, as indicated by its redeemability in coin; that is, that nobody should issue it except under the check imposed by liability to pay it in coin on demand. Under Mr. Boutwell's system, however, it is considered proper to commit this power to an irresponsible minister who may hold office for four years in deflance of the popular will, who is not obliged to make any public statements for the reasons of his conduct, and who, this year, may be a very honest man, but next year a Butler, or a Drew, or a Jay Gould; and this not "in case of an invasion or insurrection," but in aid of the ordinary annual operation of "moving" the crops. Under the old system, the farmer who raises corn is supposed to be the proper person to find the money to carry it to market, either out of his own savings or by loans from his friends or his banker. Under the Boutwell system, even the American farmer is not sup-

posed to be able to carry it to market without the help of the Government, which is expected to afford this help by an act of arbitrary power such as no sovereign in Europe would now venture on—not even Abdul Aziz, the Commander of the Faithful.

SOME APPARENTLY UNFORESEEN RESULTS OF THE DECISION AT GENEVA.

THE most obvious and direct results of the decision at Geneva are the increase of neutral obligations which were before somewhat vague and elastic, like the common law, but have been made certain, arbitrary, and rigid like the statutory law; and the effect, whether favorable or not, which will be produced upon the practice of settling international disputes by arbitration. The Nation has already discussed this subject with some fulness, and we shall not recur to it except by this mere mention in passing. Undoubtedly, by means of the "three rules" which were proposed to the High Commission by its representatives, and of the theory upon which its "Case" before the Tribunal was based, and of the arguments of its counsel, the United States has created and assumed heavy and perhaps unnecessary neutral burdens. But there is no doubt as to the competency of the General Government to meet and perform these onerous duties; there is no question as to the authority of Congress to pass appropriate laws and to establish an adequate pelice. The difficulty will be entirely a physical and not a legal one. and may be overcome by a sufficient expenditure of money and a sufficient employment of detective and repressive officials to prevent the use of American territory for belligerent purposes either by citizens or by foreigners.

But there will be other necessary results of the Arbitration which have not as yet been noticed—results peculiar to the United States; results which will reach far beyond the subject of its neutral rights and obligations, and will affect its internal and constitutional law wherever that law touches upon or has any connection with its foreign relations. These consequences of the decision at Geneva it is our purpose to describe and discuss.

To appreciate and understand them we must refer to one element of the controversy which appeared in its very earliest stages, but which became most prominent at its close. It will be remembered that to the representations and demands made by Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams, the British Government constantly opposed their existing statute as the limit of their administrative powers and the measure of their international obligation. To this defence the American secretary and minister replied, first, that even assuming the statute to be for the time the sole practical criterion of obligation towards belligerents, the means provided for by it were not properly and faithfully used; and, secondly, that if the statute was insufficient, Parliament had ample and conceded power by amendment to make it adequate to the exigencies of the case, and that if the Government were in earnest in their professions of impartiality, they would at once procure the additional legislation to be passed. These positions of Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams were unanswerable, and furnished broad and solid ground upon which to rest the liability of Great Britain. In the "Case," however, presented to the Tribunal, and especially in the argument of the counsel, the United States went far beyond this original theory of liability, and asserted with great earnestness, and even vehemence, the doctrines which, as we shall see, must of necessity retroact upon our own constitutional law. The fundamental thesis maintained by the representatives of the United States, the broad dogma which upheld the whole superstructure of practical argument, was that the International Law knows absolutely nothing of forms of government, of constitutional cheeks and safeguards, of limited powers, of regular and legal as opposed to arbitrary and illegal procedure. All these matters belong exclusively to the internal and domestic arrangements of states, and have nothing to do with their external and foreign relations. Before the majesty of the International Law all sovereign states are equal and alike in subjection. Its mandates

are addressed with the same compelling force to absolute monarchies, to constitutional kingdoms, and to democratic republics; they speak to and bind alike all departments of a government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. No independent state can escape its international obligations on the plea of defective legislation or of defective administrative machinery, because the very nature and essence of these obligations require that it should have provided itself with appropriate legislation and sufficient executive and judicial means to enforce within its jursidiction the duties which the Law of Natious creates and imposes. In a word, no independent state, whatever be its form of government, whatever be its notions of internal order, or its methods of administering justice and executing its laws, can avoid or free itself from its duties to other nations by reason of any constitutional checks or limitations which it may have chosen to adopt. This doctrine, formulated by the authors of the "Case," and elaborated with great strength and with a wealth of lillustration by Mr. Evarts and Mr. Cushing, was made the very foundation of the American contention at Geneva in defining the duties of neutrals during a war. It was vigorously opposed by Sir Roundell Palmer. It was practically accepted and approved by the Tribunal. It has become a part of the International Law so far as the United States is concerned. Our Government, having in the most solemn manner known to diplomacy maintained this doctrine as a part of the universal code binding upon civilized peoples, is estopped from ever denying the correctness of its present position.

The consequence of this theory of international obligation and of the efficacy of international law must be important and may be exceedingly embarrassing. The application has now been made to neutral duties, to the relations of neutral states to belligerents; but it is evident that the theory itself cannot be restricted to these relations. The argument on the part of the United States at Geneva endeavored to discover a general principle defining the nature of international obligation in the abstract, which principle should be decisive of the particular obligation in controversy. That principle was adopted by the Tribunal as the ratio decidendi, but was plainly not exhausted by the single application then made; it must be hereafter extended to all varieties of international duties, to all classes of foreign relations, and will be most fruitful in its effects upon our constitutional law.

It is conceded by every school of constitutional interpreters, by the ultra-national as well as by the advocates of State sovereignty, that numerous subjects of legislative and administrative action are completely entrusted to the separate States to the exclusion of the General Government. Some of these subjects have, or at least may have, an external as well as an internal connection; the exercise by a State of its proper and exclusive functions may give rise to foreign relations and complications with which, in most countries, the supreme general government alone can deal, but with which, under our organic law, the State governments cannot deal. Whenever such cases have heretofore arisen, and they have not been infrequent, the State Department, in its diplomatic correspondence, has invariably set up the want of constitutional power in the United States as excuse for the non-fulfilment of international obligations; or, to speak more accurately, it has maintained that this lack of constitutional power frees the General Government from a duty which might perhaps have rested upon a nation differently organized. Thus far in the history of our foreign relations, this plea has been accepted as valid, but will probably be so accepted no longer. A single well-known example will illustrate the difficulty and the former attitude of the United States.

During the so-called Canadian rebellion, while the insurgents occupied Navy Island in the Niagara River, a small party of British troops came over in the night to the New York side, seized the American steamer Caroline, which had been employed in carrying supplies to the rebels, and which was moored there, set her on fire, and sent her over the falls. One person at least was killed in the affray. Some time after one McLeod, an officer in the British ser-

vice, was apprehended while in New York by the State authorities, was held on the charge of being engaged in the Caroline affair, was indicted for murder, and was imprisoned awaiting his trial on the indictment. The British Government at once assumed all responsibility for the acts of McLeod, declared that what he did was done by their authority, insisted that the matter was one for settlement between the two nations, and demanded the release of the prisoner. Daniel Webster, who was then Secretary of State, admitted the general correctness of the position assumed by Great Britain, and the abstract justice of the demand, but insisted and of course demonstrated that, under the constitution and laws of the United States, it was impossible for the President or any of his subordinates to obtain the custody of McLeod, to remove him from the control of the State authorities, or to surrender him in compliance with the demand. This answer of Mr. Webster was for the time acquiesced in, but the question of international obligation was not, after all, brought to a practical test, for on his trial before the New York Court McLeod was acquitted. If he had been condemned and exccuted, our Government would have been compelled to meet the question, and a severe strain might have been given to our institutions, for the people were not then so familiar with the free exercise of national functions by the President and Congress as they have since become. Congress, at its next session, passed a statute which will prevent such an emergency from arising again, by providing that, when any person shall be in custody on account of an act done by him under color of authority from a foreign government, the United States courts and judges shall have jurisdiction to enquire into the cause of the detention, and to release him, if proper, upon a writ of habeas corpus. This legislation, it will be observed, is very special, is applicable only to cases exactly similar to that of McLeed, and confers no general power or authority to act in other instances of international complications. Should an analogous case again arise-a case depending upon the same principles, but not exactly covered by the statute-the Geneva arbitration has furnished the complaining nation with a ready and complete answer to the position which Mr. Webster assumed.

Such cases must frequently occur, and we will specify, for purposes of illustration, some of those which are most probable. A resident of Canada commits some ordinary crime in New York, and escapes to his own home. The offence is not included in the extradition treaty, so that he cannot be demanded and delivered up. He is kidnapped by American citizens, brought within the territory of New York, and is there held under an indictment for his crime. The British Government interferes on his behalf, lays the facts before the President, and demands his release. We are informed that such a case is now or has recently been pending in the State Department. What can be done? Plainly the United States can do nothing legally. If Congress has the authority to pass an appropriate statute, none is now in existence. Neither the Secretary of State nor the President has more legal power than any private citizen to take this man from the custody of the sheriff; the constitutional limitations are positive and plain. But by our own showing at Geneva, this want of power, these checks and restraints of the organic law, do not in the least lessen the international obligation which rests upon the Government, do not furnish the slightest excuse for failing to fulfil that obligation. Again: complete and exclusive control over the general subject of acquiring, owning, and transmitting property in lands is confessedly given to the States. The United States, as it plainly may, enters into a treaty, wherein it is stipulated that the subjects of the other high contracting party shall have all the rights and privileges within the United States which are given to American citizens within the jurisdiction of the foreign power. The laws of that country permit all persons of foreign citizenship as well as natives to exercise full rights of ownership in land within its territory. Some of the American States retain the barbarous rule of the old common law, which forbids aliens to inherit land or to hold it by a perfect title. Has the treaty overridden the State legislation so far as the subjects of this particular foreign power are concerned? There can certainly be no higher international obligations than those created by solemn treaties, and the United States is plainly committed to the doctrine that the State law must yield to the treaty stipulation.

Another and very peculiar case which has recently occurred shows in a striking manner the effect which the conception of international obligation that we are discussing has upon the internal and even constitutional law. The treaty with Japan, as is the case with all treaties with Asiatic nations, provides that when an American citizen commits an offence within the territory of Japan, he shall be tried and punished, not by the local courts, but by the United States consul or minister resident. An American has been arrested and delivered over to the consul, charged with having in some manner desecrated a temple or an idol, an offence according to the native law punishable with death. 'The consul, naturally thinking that, as a United States officer, he is to administer United States laws, and not finding in his copy of the Statutes at Large any act making it an offence to desecrate a heathen temple or an idol, writes home for instructions. The matter is as puzzling to the Secretary of State as it was to the consul. Of course there is nothing in the common law nor in the statutes which applies to such a case. Treaties with heathen powers, and even with the Mohammedan powers, all contain similar stipulations. The consuls and ministers who execute these provisions ought certainly to act under some appearance of law, and not entirely according to their own discretion. How shall this appearance of legality be procured? Shall the Secretary of State draft a code to be used by his subordinates? Can Congress enact a system of proper laws to be administered exclusively in foreign countries with whom we may have entered into such compacts? The whole subject is full of difficulties. We remark, in passing, that the doctrine we are discussing throws much light upon the vexed question to how great an extent Congress, and especially the House of Representatives, is bound by treaties which call for acts to be done which the Constitution provides for doing only by statutes, such as the appropriation and payment of money, or the fixing the rates of duties upon imports.

Additional examples are unnecessary. These sufficiently illustrate the nature of some results which must inevitably flow from the decision at Geneva-results which were probably unforescen, but which are the direct consequences of positions assumed by the Government, and to which it is now committed. These consequences are not confined to the international law and to the defining of international duties; they have a necessary and intimate connection with the constitutional law; they open, in fact, a new and wide field for the legislative and administrative functions of the General Government. As the falfilment of international duties cannot be left to the mere arbitrary and irregular exercise of governmental power, the principle must be accepted that, by virtue of their control over foreign relations, the President has implied authority to do all executive acts, and Congress has implied authority to pass all laws necessary to the fulfilment of international duties, even though such acts and laws may interfere in the most direct manner with subjects which are generally within the exclusive control of the States. To how great an extent this principle might be carried, what a vast accession of power it would bring to the General Government, every student of constitutional law will at once perceive.

THE DIAMOND BUBBLE AND ITS BURSTING.

THE great diamond swindle which was exposed in San Francisco on the 28th of November, astounded that city of surprises and speculations like an earthquake of which there had been some premonitory rumbles, but for the catastrophe of which there were few persons ready. Doubtless the fraud was one of the most ingenious and masterly ever perpetrated among men of intelligence and wealth; it involved some of the most eminent and respectable business men of California; it rested upon the report of a mining engineer whose character for integrity and knowledge are still unquestioned; its success was partly due to the confidence reposed in two well-known New Yorkers; it had attracted the attention of wealthy men in the leading

capitals of Europe; in short, it is a moderate assertion to say that its timely exposure has alone prevented the people of California, and doubtless of the entire country, from a diamond fever, compared with which the petroleum faror of a few years ago would have been trifling, and which can only be likened to the Mississippi Scheme and the South Sea Bubble.

The daily newspapers have given such full reports of the development of this swindie and of the mode in which "it came to grief," that we may refer to it chiefly as an illustration of the importance to the public of Governmental surveys, and of trained scientific observers knowing enough to cope with plausible rascals, and bold enough to go in the face of fallacies which are well endorsed and generally accepted.

The chief points thus far revealed in the history of the fraud are these : Ever since midsummer the Pacific breezes have blown furiously with diamond rumors; the newspapers far and near have published articles and items telling of this and that discovery of diamonds and rubies and of other precious stones, which were soon to add as much as gold and quicksilver to the wealth of "the slope." Amid many stories which were false, one thing was certain, that several of the shrewdest and richest men in San Francisco, with General McClellau and Mr. S. L. M. Barlow of New York, were associated in a company, having the nominal capital of \$10,000,000, under the name of the "San Francisco and New York Mining and Commercial Company." Their specific object was "to develop " a diamond locality of extraordinary promise, the site of which was not revealed to any but the most select. The public were left to guess its whereabouts: now it was here, now there; but the impression was cherished by the newspapers that Indian-ridden Arizona was the new Golconda. Congress before its adjournment passed in hot haste, and under suspicious circumstances, the "Placer Mining Act," so framed as to cover diamond lands. Great expectations were held out of what would be revealed when the company should be ready to admit the public to a share in the facts and the profits. At length, matters were so far advanced that the report of Mr. Henry Janin, the mining engineer to whom reference has been made, was given to the newspapers. It was a guarded paper, based on a very brief reconnoissance of the region, the site of which was still kept secret; and it concluded with these words, which embody both the caution and the emphasis of his whole report:

"I would say that I consider this a wonderfully rich discovery; and one that will prove extremely profitable; that while I did not have time enough to make the investigations which would have answered very important questions, I do not doubt that further prospecting will result in finding diamonds over a greater area than is as yet proved to be diamondiferous; and finally, that I consider any investment at \$40 per share, or at the rate of \$4,000,000 for the whole property, a safe and attractive one."

As these facts became public, many shrewd people were still sceptical and distrustful, but the common belief was sure that great discoveries had been made, and that the knowing ones would soon "realize" a fortune. Other diamond companies were formed, and arrangements were making for the disposal of their shares, and for sending off next spring abundant parties of "prospecters." No one can forted how wide would have been the excitement, or how determined, when the possibilities thus vaguely suggested should have been proclaimed as facts throughout the land, sustained by some of the most respected capitalists of San Francisco and the report of an abla expert.

All at once the whole affair collapsed by the sudden appearance upon California Street of the United States Geological Survey of the Fortieth Parallel, commonly known as Mr. Clarence King's geological party. Certain trifling indications led the members of this expedition to surmise that the reported Goleonda might be found within the belt which they have been exploring during the last few years. "Feeling," says Mr. King, "that so marvellous a deposit as the diamond fields must not exist within the official limits of the geological survey of the fortieth parallel unknown and unstudied, I availed myself of the intimate knowledge possessed by the gentlemen of my corps, not only of Colorado and Wyoming, but of the trail of every party travelling there, and I was enabled to find the spot without difficulty, reaching there November 2."

We have learned from private sources that when the diamond rumors began to be definite, and the report of the mining engineer made the prospect of hidden gems appear most certain, Mr. King and one of his chief aids, Mr. J. T. Gardiner, were far apart from one another, but both of them were curious, of course, to know whether the diamond locality could be within their beat. Mr. Gardiner, whose knowledge of the physical structure of the region of the interior in the latitude indicated is that of one who has been over and mapped down the streams, the roads, and the hills, took up his map and asked where the diamond placer could be. Two or three facts in respect to the time and the direction of the prospecting party had leaked out; he knew, for example, that they were only gone twelve days from a

certain point. His knowledge of the streams and of the snow-covered ridges enabled him to say with a strong degree of assurance that the region must be south of the Uniou Pacific Road, east of the Green River, and probably on one of the two peaks marked as Bishop Mountain on the map of the War Department. This was his surmise.

Mr. King, in his turn, was at a distance questioning what geological region on his beat would be most likely to bear diamonds if any were found, or to be selected as "diamondiferous" if a fraud were intended. By reasoning quite independent of Mr. Gardiner's, he was sure that the locality above-mentioned was the most likely. The comrades met, and each on his own knowledge put his finger on the mysterious and coveted spot.

Quietly and without consultation, Mr. King set out for the locality, with the co-operation of Messrs. Emmons and Wilson, two other members of the Fortieth Parallel Expedition. He found the trail, he saw the indications of recent visitors, he looked for precious stones, and behold there were diamonds and rubies-real diamonds and rubies, without the possibility of mistake. This was a great achievement to have discovered the region and to have found the priceless treasure. His well-trained mind and his habits of scientific study, however, suggested caution and further research. It occurred to him that if these gems were here deposited by nature, they would sink to the same place in the earth as other stones of like specific gravity, and not lie sprinkled on the surface. But, in fact, the treasures were superficial. He also noticed that one diamond was found associated with twelve or fifteen rubies with a very suspicious or shopkeeper's regularity, not at all like the methods of distribution which nature employs. Both these suspicious circumstances were confirmed by a careful examination of the region, and the conviction became irresistible that, instead of a treasure, a fraud of the most extraordinary character had been discovered. Hastening to San Francisco, Mr. King at once made known, on November 10, to the managers of the company his discovery; but, at their request, he kept it a secret from the public until a re-examination of the locality could be made. Accordingly, the company's superintendent, Gen. Colton, the engineer, Mr. Janin, and Mr. King, went up again to the still hidden locality. His associates were satisfied of the correctness of Mr. King's examination, and the parties all hastened back to San Francisco, and reported to the company. The trustees at once gave all the chief facts to the public, and the diamond bubble

Doubtless, when the facts respecting the origin of this fraud are all brought to light, it will appear that some very knowing adventurers had bought up in London and elsewhere a quantity of uncut stones, and "salted" with them a region which in some of its aspects was suggestive of other diamond fields—those, for example, in South Africa, if not kindred to them. Certainly they prepared the scheme with a degree of cunning which might deceive the very elect.

We have already alluded to the immense service which has been rendered to the country by this exposure of Mr. King's. To appreciate it fully, it should be understood that the reports of the number and character of the precious stones already gathered by the company indicated a fabulous amount of treasure, sufficient even to raise among diamond dealers the enquiry whether the value of diamonds in the world-markets would not be seriously impaired. The shares of the company to the amount of ten millions were about to be offered to the public. In the wake of this great company eighteen other companies, it is said, were about to come before the public, each with a capital of a million in shares of ten dollars each, adapted to the smallest investors. Innumerable other localities in the wilderness were reported as diamondiferous, and there were clear indica. tions that from East and West there would be next spring an exodus to the hypothetical Golcondas akin to the great transmigrations which were occasioned by the gold discoveries of California and Australia. Such results would be serious enough in the loss of money to those who could ill afford it, and in the loss of homes to those who ventured to the mountains, but still more serious injury would have come to California by the loss of her credit at home and abroad, and by the widespread belief, which no amount of explanation would have removed, that her best and most credited financiers could be parties to a cruel and stupendous cheat. These perils have been fortunately averted by the timely action of Mr. King.

His ability to expose the fraud is a good lesson in respect to the value of Governmental surveys. People have not yet forgotten that last winter in Congress doubt was thrown upon the value of this survey of the fertieth parallel, and some of our legislators wondered whether it would pay. This single exposure, the work of a few days in appearance, the result of several years in reality, has more than paid for the cost of the survey. The Government party has surveyed the entire belt of a hundred miles in width between the eastern slope of the Sierras and the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Full particulars have been gathered respecting its topography, its

geology, its mineral deposits, its mining industry, and its vegetation. It was this knowledge which made it impossible long to conceal any "salted" diamond field within the boundaries of the survey. Moreover, the trained habits of observation which the leader and his assistants in this party had acquired, their scientific thoroughness and precision, and their sense of responsibility for their work to the Government of the United States, fitted them to investigate and discover the truth, however skilfully the fraud was put uppermost. Were it not for this Government survey, it would be hard to surmise where detection could have come from till the lack of dividends alarmed the stockholders.

The superiority of independent Governmental surveys and scientific researches to the examination of experts, however honest, is also well illustrated by this transaction. Nobody doubts the uprightness or the engineering skill of the expert employed by the company, but he went to "the field" with representatives both of buyers and sellers; they were readily persuaded that the findings were testimony enough; and they hurried him away, as his first report says, before he had time to make a thorough investigation. It was this necessity of conforming to the requirements of his employers which was unfavorable for the expert, and likewise it was the absolute independence of the United States geologist which favored his discovery of the truth.

One of the most respectable journals of San Francisco, the Evening Bulletin, brings the lesson home in the following excellent advice:

"These facts sharply emphasize the practical value, in the ordinary business of society, of scientific education and research. Had the rich men of this city had any respect for or knowledge of science, they would have employed a competent geologist at first, and have insisted upon his making his own tests, in his own time and way, thereby saving themselves the lumiliation and loss they have now to suffer. Mr. King, while acting strictly as a Government officer, and upon the suggestion of his own sense of duty, has done the public a memorable service, the mere statement of which carries with it all the praise a man like him can desire, as it is the only reward be will receive. We recall in this connection the fact that Professor Whitney, of the State Geological Survey, with whom Mr. King once served some years ago, saved California from the disgrace and loss of a wild speculation in petroleum lands, by steadily adhering to the plain geological reasons for his belief that oil-wells could not be found where they were said by schemers to exist. Here are two conspicuous examples of the value of science as a protection against ignorant speculation. These public surveys 'pay' in more senses than one, and even those who care nothing for wider and fuller knowledge for its own sake, must hereafter admit that Government expends no money more wisely and usefully. If our wealthy men would as readily learn to be less speculative in their enterprises and more helpful of legitimate undertakings which build up a community on the solid basis of productive and diversified industry, the lesson of the great diamond swindle would be worth far more than it has cost in gold and damaged prestige."

OPENING OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1872.

THE first week of the session of Congress is over. What it will bring forth in three months of labor it is too early to predict. But one thing is clear already, "the era of good feeling" has not been entered upon Those in command of the Administration party have decided otherwise. The House of Representatives opened propitiously. Whatever we may think of General Banks's personal merits, the refusal of the House to accept his resignation as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations showed at least a disposition on the part of a strong minority of the Republican members to be tolerant in their treatment of the "apostates," and that minority includes some of the leading men in that body. But that is not a new thing. It is well known that several Republicans of prominence in the House sympathized at heart with the "Liberal movement" before the disaster at Cincinnati; that they would have supported such a man as Charles Francis Adams for the Presidency; and that only the nomination of Mr. Greeley drove them back into the regular Republican organization. Such men do not interpret the victory of General Grant as a condemnation of the ideas and purposes which gave the original impulse to the insurrectionary movement; and they do not, therefore, look upon the offenders as fit subjects for summary execution. But this class of Republicans, however influential in the popular branch of Congress, do not control the "party machine." Their orthodoxy is again becoming suspected; their "soundness" is doubtful; and we hear loud cries for a Republican "leader" in the House, for a "Great Commoner," like the late Thad. Stevens, who will crack the party whip with sleepless vigilance over the whole flock, and wield the tomahawk without mercy. But the Great Commoner's mantle does not seem to have descended upon anybody's shoulders yet, although there is no lack of aspirants for that position, such as General Butler, and Mr. Maynard of Tennessee, and some lesser lights ambitious of power. A struggle for the mastership in the House is not unlikely to come between intolerant partisauship and a more liberal tendency; but, as that body is now constituted, the chances will be in favor of the latter, whatever way the Administration may throw its influence. The preponderance of talent and integrity is so great on that side that the result cannot be very doubtful.

But in the Senate that struggle is already decided. In the Republican caucus, called for the purpose of reorganizing the committees, a few feeble voices, such as Mr. Wilson's, made themselves heard in favor of reconciliation and good feeling. That, of course, was useless, for the party magnates of the Senate jusist that party discipline shall not be trifled with. They strictly adhere, as a supreme rule of action, to the time-honored principle that "deserters must be shot." The manner in which they tried to execute the sentence was quite curious. First, the circular calling the Republican cancus was so framed as to invite only those senators who had supported the platform and candidates of the Philadelphia Convention. This circular was also sent to the Liberal Republicans who had supported Greeley, thus pointedly inviting them to stay away. Had the circular not been seut to them at all, it would have answered all practical purposes as well. But it was probably considered a sharper thing to let them know in due form that their company was not desired. Then the caucus appointed the committees, dropping the names of all the Liberals from the positions formerly held by them. Then a note was addressed to the Democrats, informing them of the vacancies left on the committees for the Opposition, and inviting them, in filling those vacancies, to provide for themselves and also for Messrs. Sumner, Trumbull, Tipton, Schurz, Hamilton of Texas, Rice, and Fenton. On the most important committees only one place was left vacant, so that either the representative of the Democrats or the Liberals would be excluded. The design was evidently not only to deprive the seven gentlemen above-named of their former places on the committees, and thus to impair their influence in the Senate, but to hand them ostentatiously over to the Democratic party. Thus was not only every possibility of a friendly understanding with the Liberals destroyed, but the recognition of a third, independent element was studiously avoided, and the Liberals were to be driven into the Democratic organization.

This design, however, was not entirely successful. Mr. Casserly, in a very handsome manner, gave up his place on the Committee on Foreign Affairs to Mr. Schurz, and the latter addressed a letter to Mr. Thurman, in which he declared his unwillingness to serve on any committee as a representative of the Democratic party, and his determination to maintain an entirely independent position. It is understood that his views are shared by all the "Liberal" members of the Senate, except perhaps Mr. Rice, who is said to have shown some inclination to identify himself with the Democrats. The letter of Mr. Schurz seems to be well received by the sensible men of both parties, but the Republican managers in the Senate give out that they will treat him and his associates as Democrats whatever course they may take. That is what Mr. Conkling calls "purifying the Republican party."

Thus it may be said that in spite of the conciliatory disposition shown by a number of Republicans in the House of Representatives, the "era of good feeling" has for the present been postponed, especially as, according to current report, the refusal of the House to accept Mr. Banks's resignation has met with little favor at the White House. We must expect to see Morton, Conkling, Chandler, and Cameron continue to carry things in the Senate with as high a hand as they did before, for even Cameron does not seem to have suffered from the apparent snubbing he received in the Philadelphia postmaster case. In fact, I have it on very good authority that the statement contained in a letter which appeared in the Nation of November 28 is true: Mr. Fairman, the newly-appointed Postmaster, was really Mr. Cameron's candidate, while the latter estensibly advocated the appointment of Mr. Truman in order to please a certain set of Pennsylvania politicians. Mr. Cameron is known here to have resorted to such tricks before, and he can now afford a chuckle about the snubbing story when he has his postmaster at Philadelphia, and his influence at the White House as well as in the Senate unimpaired. It is, therefore, doubtful whether Mr. Cameron will join in the threatened attack on the President's civil-service regulations. But Senators Logan and Carpenter are in earnest in their opposition to all the proposed modes of civil-service reform, and they will avail themselves of the first opportunity to open the assault, while General Butler will do the same in the House. This assault, however, will probably not be successful, provided the President himself does not permit himself to appear in an uncertain light. There are, indeed, but few Republicans in Congress who will defend any civil-service reform measure with sincerity and zeal, but the average Administration man will not be inclined to thwart the President's wishes in this matter, and the Liberals may be counted upon to fill the gaps.

The Democrats in Congress are in a disturbed state of mind. There are

but few who do not secretly recognize the fact that the last Presidentia election has virtually broken up the Democratic party, and that an organization so completely shattered cannot become a great power again. Some of them, especially the younger men, in the House of Representatives openly express the wish to see it disappear, so as to give its members full freedom to choose new associations. The question is, how to bring about its speedy dissolution, and that question seems to be a distressing puzzle, even to the most progressive Democratic mind. Nobody seems inclined to take the initiative, and a vague hope is entertained that the decisive thing will be done by the people, so as to relieve the leaders of the responsibility of burying the Democratic party. What even the most culightened leaders seems to lack is the courage to begin what they see must eventually be done. The older chiefs are particularly anxious not to commit themselves. They are still dreaming of the possibility of preserving for their own benefit the political capital they have invested in the old organization. They are unwilling to give up their commanding positions, even if they command nothing but a shadow; they fear to be robbed of a prestige which gives them no real power. There are several worthy and honorable men among them who might still do the country some service, and it would be a pity if they should passively permit the coming flood to pass over them, instead of saving themselves by attempting to direct it. But the idea that the very existence of the old Democratic organization as such serves to give strength to the worst influences governing the party in power is steadily gaining ground, and the Liberals can do much to promote the disintegrating tendency by discouraging the hope, still here and there cherished in Democratic quarters, that they may permit themselves to be driven as reinforcements into the Democratic ranks. As to the development of new formations, we shall probably have to wait for the next Congress.

THE DEFEAT OF THIERS.

Paris, November 22, 1872.

I HAD not been to Versailles since the return of the Chamber. Last Sunday morning a Deputy told me, "You had better come to-day; we shall have a stormy day." So I went. The rain was falling in torrents in the city of magnificent avenues. I saw old General Changarnier running for a cab at the station, as there are perhaps only fifty cabs for 750 deputies. He opened the fire in the Chamber; he made what is called here an interpellation on Gambetta's speech at Grenoble. Gambetta had attacked the Right and the authority of the National Assembly, which, after the late events, is the only legal power remaining in France : he had pronounced on his own authority the dissolution of the Chamber; he was therefore guilty of high treason; he was a rebel. The General, who is eighty years old, is still erect, and his voice though weak is full of energy; his style is pure, and he prides himself upon his scholarship. Speaking of the Gambetta men, he called them coquins, and the President interrupted him and remarked that the word was not parliamentary. Changarnier bowed and said that he thought the most correct word was the word which best represented the thought, and he preferred his own old-fashioned French to the slang (patois) of the Radical school. The Minister of the Interior made a very feeble answer to Changarnier; he had no difficulty in showing that the Government could not be held responsible for the opinions of a Deputy; but he proved it like a third-class lawyer, and the House could hardly be blamed for refusing to give him much attention. After him, the Duc de Broglie, one of the leaders of that faction which is called the Right Centre, and which is chiefly composed of Orleanists, said a few words: The question was not so much political as social. M. Gambetta had announced the domination of a new social stratum, and pronounced the condemnation of the old society. Now, what did a new social stratum mean in a country which enjoyed universal suffrage, equal rights, laws founded on the most absolute equality? Did the obscure gentlemen who signed the decrees of the Commune, and who, even after so many crimes, were still obscure, though they tried to write their names on the pages of history with blood and firedid these gentlemen represent the new social stratum? The Duke wished to have M. Gambetta's answer to this question. But Gambetta was silent; he was sitting in his usual place, spread like a lion with his long and curly bair, and looking insolently at the Duke with his Cyclopean eye. The Duke then asked M. Thiers to condescend to repeat before the country what he had said of the Grenoble speech before a committee. To this committee he had declared that the political and social doctrines of Gambetta were bad, very bad; but a committee was a very close audience; he begged M. Thiers to make a declaration to the Chamber and to France.

M. Thiers was present, though it would have been much better had he remained at the Presidency; he slowly ascended the tribune, and drank as usual a glass of black coffee; he looked sullen, angry, and impatient. "The

declaration you ask me to make, I will not make. I will not say a single word. I will not allow you or anybody to drag me here like a criminal, and to extort from me declarations and professions of faith. You know my opinions. This question is a mere pretext. You dare not stab me directly, and you try to do it indirectly. Come down, and let us fight at once the political question. Are you ready to take the government from my hands? Can you make a more energetic, a more definite government?" So he continued, and every word fell like a hammer on the Assembly.

I have witnessed the most dramatic scenes at Bordeaux and at Versailles, but I never saw anything like the sitting of the 13th of November. Thiers in his message had crossed the Rubicon, he had been named Chief of the Executive and President according to the Rivet proposition, on the distinct understanding that the form of government should be reserved. The government was called a republic, as there was no king; but the constituent rights of the Chamber were solemnly recognized, which meant that the Chamber was still free to institute a republic or monarchy. In his message, M. Thiers had made a parliamentary coup d'état; he had said that the Republic had become the legal government of the country, and that every attempt to build up another government was revolutionary. The majority of the Chamber, which is divided when it comes to the choice of a dynasty, is not divided when the dynasty is out of question. The message of the President was a declaration of war to this majority. It was decided that an address should be made in answer to it. The leaders of the majority had no wish to upset M. Thiers, they only hoped to find the means to keep the statu quo and to imprison M. Thiers in the limits of the compact which had been made between him and the Assembly. But M. Thiers no longer considers himself as the delegate of the House. He spoke haughtily of his services. "Who was there to sign the peace when I offered to sign it? Who bombarded Paris and took it by force?" The Chamber became very augry when these imprudent words were pronounced. It remembered that M. Thiers had abandoned Paris on the 18th of March; that he had sent the order to evacuate all the forts, and even Mont Valérien; that for three weeks he negotiated with the Commune. Had the Assembly nothing to do with the peace, with the defeat of the Commune, with the reorganization of the army? Thiers spoke very much in the tone of young Bonaparte. It was really distressing to see, under the present sad circumstances of France, this old man, as pale as a ghost, with his face, as the Latin poet says, "jam pallida morte futura." scolding, threatening, tormenting a French Chamber, which was elected in the hour of peril, and which contains the most reputable citizens of France.

The friends as well as the enemies of M. Thiers were almost in despair. The Prussian ambassador, Baron von Arnim, Prince Orloff, the Russian ambassador, next to whom I sat, looked down upon this painful scene with feelings of pity and contempt. In vain did the Due de Broglie ascend again the tribune and protest that he had no intention of opening a political war, of upsetting the President; personally, he was inclined to accept all the constitutional modifications which would be agreeable to M. Thiers. He only desired him to show publicly that he had nothing to do with the Radicals, and that he did not desire their alliance. General Changarnier followed him; he appeared like the toreador who comes alone with a fine steel sword and places himself before the infuriated bull. He was even nearer than M. Thiers to the awful moment when every man must give to the Supreme Judge an account of the use of his liberty and of his faculties; he was not animated by a servile ambition. I watched the President at this moment, and I think I could perceive that this time the sword had entered his breast. Changarnier went on and said that, old as he was, he was always ready to fight the cause of order and of loyalty. At this moment the House looked like a rolling sea; both sides stood in array. "This," said a Russian neighbor to me, "is civil war on the stage." M. Thiers from this moment felt vanquished. He retired before Changarnier's bold attack. He ascended the tribune slowly, and began a rambling speech, a long and diffuse statement; he went so far as to condemn in words the speech of Gambetta, though an hour before he seemed determined to be silent on this point. The Chamber breathed more freely after this condemnation; the majority had triumphed, but did not wish to push its triumph too far. Two hours were spent in the wildest confusion; various formulas were tried which embodied at the same time an expression of confidence in the Government and the condemnation of Gambetta. One was finally carried by a small majority-and it was all over. Thiers returned to the Presidency, complaining of the ingratitude of the Chamber. How could be go on with such a contemptible majority? Nearly three hundred deputies had abstained. Ever since, he has remained in his tent, like young Achilles; he receives the messengers of Agamemnon, but he says he cannot resume his duties till his power is placed on a firmer ground. His friends go wildly about with constitutional schemes in their hand. They say that M. Thiers must

be named President for four years; that in this case he will have a responsible Cabinet, he will no longer go to the Chamber and compromise in daily struggles the dignity of the executive; they claim, however, his right to go and defend at the second reading the bills defeated after the first. The monarchists are trying to find the elements of a new provisional government in case Thiers cannot be brought back to the Chamber; some mention Marshal MacMahon, some the Duc d'Aumale, some both. So long as the Comte de Chambord and the Comte de Paris disagree, they dream of a dumwirate, or a triumvirate, of a Consul, of a Protector or Lieutenaut-General. Meanwhile, Germany is discontented, and it is rumored that Bismarck will no longer accept any guarantee for the payment of the fifth milliard, and that France will in consequence remain occupied till March, 1874.

The situation, as you see, is as dark, as painful, as it was on the eve of the Commune. The Radical party alone feels elated. Gambetta, who once organized, in the words of a Republican, the dictatorship of incapacity and of defeat, is the only gainer; he never said a word while the two sides of the Assembly were fighting, like gladiators, over his name. He laughed and smiled, and looked calmly on the scene. His party numbers only 130 men in the Chamber; but the divisions of the Conservatives are so profound that he feels that this minority has the game in its hands. He has been a tool in Thiers's hands, but Thiers is now a tool in his hands. In this deplorable confusion, nobody seems to think of France; her will is ignored, her sovereignty is despised. It is impossible to know accurately where she wishes to go. She seemed contented with the government of Thiers as long as he preserved order and seemed an arbiter of parties. But now he has placed himself at the head of a party, and of the party which has the minority in the House.

Some compromise will probably be made for the present, but Thiers has lost something of his prestige as well as the majority. He has not shown the temper of a Washington; he has appeared more like an old Tiberius scolding his frightened Scnate. His rule is a personal rule; his republic a personal republic. To many this is a surprise and a disappointment; it will not be for those who have read carefully the historical works of M. Thiers. He has always worshipped force; his criticism of the Terrorists and of Napoleon is only the shell of an instinctive admiration. Old as he is now, he may in a moment of disgust and of discouragement give up the political game; if he was younger, he would, without any hesitation, try to play the part of a Cæsar or a Napoleon.

ELSASS, STRASSBURG, AND THE UNIVERSITY.

STRASSBURG, November 12, 1872.

SINCE the 1st of October the political and social atmosphere of the new Reichslande has changed considerably, and certainly not for the worse. There was a certain sultriness in the air which rested upon all minds; now, after all those are gone who have voted (optirt) for France, everybody breathes more freely. The Alsatians are as yet very far from being enthusiastic Germans, but they, as well as the unwelcome newcomers, begin to feel as if everything was fast settling down into a normal condition, and this is, of course, the best proof of our actually making headway towards such a condition. The aristocracy-i.e., the rich manufacturers and merchants, the gens de lettres, etc.-still keep aloof, and, undoubtedly, many a year will pass by ere there is any social intercourse whatever between them and the Germans in the higher walks of life. But even they already begin to bend under the high pressure of interest. It is a noteworthy fact that the merchants have at last consented to communicate with the railroad administration in regard to the defects under which, from various reasons, the railroad service has been laboring, to the great detriment of all persons receiving and forwarding goods. Their advice and assistance had been long ago solicited, but thus far the only answer was angry declamation. A still better token of the approach of an era of better-if not of good-feeling is the all but general participation in the elections of local governments. In the beginning, the same parole had been given out as in Italy by the irreconcilable clergy. Now, however, the very men who so zealously preached a dignified and absolute isolation from the "modern savages in uncouth attire" as the Evénement recently called the Germans-have exerted their influence to the utmost to bring the voters in full numbers to the polls; and honor and thanks to them that they have done it. Not many things will do so much towards reconciling the Alsatians to their fate as the local selfgovernment which they may enjoy under German rule. Even Germany is in this respect far behind America, but it can nevertheless well serve as a model for republican as well as imperial France. The Alsatians will be quick to appreciate that, for they never relished the imperial Providence which, in its over-solicitude for the welfare of the sovereign people, even

brought the parish funds to Paris and prescribed how many poor children were to be admitted to the parish schools free of charge. The danger was that the rich and influential men, whose personal interest in these and similar questions is comparatively small, would be carried away by their hatred of Germany and the Germans, not stopping to weigh conscientiously the interests of their fellow-sufferers who belong to the class of common mortals. The latter are mostly of a good-natured disposition, and, what is at present of still greater value, most excellent reckoners. Their pockets have, upon the whole, not suffered by the change of government, and the consequence is that, with a little politeness and tact, nothing is easier than to be on satisfactory terms with them.

It is true that the subordinate Government officials often lack this politeness and tact, and therefore frequently cause the old heartburnings to break forth anew. This is universally acknowledged by the Germans themselves. On the other hand, the Alsatians freely admit that they are met by the higher officials in a truly liberal spirit; especially the Ober-Präsident von Moeller stands very high in the public estimation. Along with this, however, it is also admitted that it is not ill-will which annoys them in the case of the subordinate officials, who cannot be made to understand that here the task is not only to govern with a firm hand, but also to win hearts. Although the reasoning of the mass of the people is not of a kind to make them always keep in mind this logical conclusion, yet they are so far conscious of it that a private German gentleman or lady has hardly ever to suffer from the illhumor caused by the blunders of minor officials. Even on Friday, the great marketing day of the week, the ladies are not exposed to any insults, though les dames des halles of Strassburg are not renowned for over-politeness, and although the fairer sex is, upon the whole, more ready to give vent to the bitter feelings still lingering in their bosoms. The refusal of a furniture wagon by the wife of a livery-stable keeper, although half a dozen of the desired vehicles were standing in the yard, has been the only exhibition of ill-will which has come under the personal observation of your correspondent. Even the sworn enemies of Germany-for not all of them have shaken the dust from their feet-have grown tired of demonstrations. Here and there one still meets with a Vive la France! A bas I Allemagne! written with charcoal on a fence, but nobody takes the trouble to wipe it off. Some boys still indulge in the pleasure of wearing ribbons of the French colors, but no one stops to look at them. In the show-windows of a certain book-store is still to be seen a picture representing a broken-hearted French family just about to leave "home, sweet home." to suffer hunger in France rather than enjoy plenty in Germany, but it does not attract the attention of the passer-by more than any other picture. If it were not for the universal bon jour and bon soir, the white-pointed nightcap on some man's head, peeping out of a window, and a few similar things, one could walk for an hour or more through the streets without becoming aware of being in a city which has been under French rule for nearly two centuries. Only in some of the principal stores French is habitually spoken, and everywhere the German customer is treated just as politely as the Alsatian.

The Germans, although not rich, consume much and pay promptly, and that certainly goes very far in accounting for the rapid change of public opinion in this city, at least so far as it manifests itself on the streets. To the Imperial Government the credit is due of having used this powerful lever without regard to the proverbial Prussian stinginess. Not only has it paid promptly and liberally all those whose property had been damaged or destroyed during the siege-except, of course, those who have emigrated to France-but it has also taken care to bring money into the country in an indirect and lasting manner. Foremost in this respect stands the new university, although established for other and more important reasons. At first the citizens were anything but delighted at the prospect of getting beside the army of helmets an army of many-colored caps. Their imagination painted the German student as a kind of semi-barbarian, continually full to overflowing with beer, and fighting a duel about every other day, to which was also added the grisette of the French student. The consequence was that it was found extremely difficult to procure lodgings of any kind for the students, although their whole number was in the first semester but 213. Now, it is not to be denied that there are students, and a good many too, of the above description at the old universities, excepting always the grisettes, who are an unknown institution even among the students of Berlin. This class, however, had nothing to expect in Strassburg, and so it was not represented at all. About a week ago the new rector-Professor De Bary, one of the very first among living botanists-was solemnly installed. In his inaugural address he mentioned as the most characteristic feature of the last semester that it had been a diligent one, among the students as well as among the professors. This is the truth, and it has had its good effects. There is no onger any trouble about lodgings; the student is a welcome guest wherever

there is a furnished room to let. Rats and mice—Strassburg can boast of really appalling numbers of all sorts of common house vermin—have been obliged to give up their old haunts because the garrets had to be fixed up for the young men who want to lay in their stock of learning where a Goethe found ample nourishment for his vast mind. This reputation of diligence has proved a powerful magnet. Nearly 50 students left at the end of the last semester, so that 170 were the stock to begin the new one with, and no little anxiety was felt about the fate of the university. Now, however, already 214 new students have been inscribed, one more than the whole number of the last semester. It is to be imagined that the professors, now numbering 67, and the list is not yet quite complete, are in high glee. The students also are full of enthusiasm, and the beginning bids fair even to excel the first semester in zealous and earnest work.

Many difficulties are, of course, still to be conquered, because almost everything has to be created anew. One great drawback, for instance, is the lack of a university building. The lectures of the philosophical faculty are delivered in the castle, and the professors of law lecture in the academy. There are, however, many lectures which it is equally important for students of both faculties to attend, but they often have to forego the one or the other because it is a quarter of an hour's walk from one building to the other. Another weak point is the library. Whenever this subject is touched, there is not a professor whose face does not at once grow at least an inch longer. Every one insists that his department is more deficient than any other. But there is no question whatever that the poor professor of the history and constitutional law of the United States is worse off than all the rest. The Americana do not quite fill three shelves, each about two feet long. It makes one's heart bleed to look at this vast emptiness, dotted only here and there with a dry reed, which even the least-spoiled reading cattle could hardly be made to swallow. There are some books worth having, but they certainly do not number more than a dozen. The names of the gentlemen on the American committee are an ample guarantee that we shall some time get something that will not have to shun comparison with the splendid gifts of England : but we want to commence working at once, and though we strain our own means to the very utmost, yet they are very insufficient. We are not ashamed to beg, for we don't beg for the furtherance of German science; we beg in the interest of the whole civilized world, whose ends and aims we want to serve in common with the whole republic of students with whatever ability we may possess.

Correspondence.

"THE WRECK OF THE METIS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The communication admitted to your columns last week, filled with reproaches for alleged unjust neglect of the gallant men who launched their boat for the relief of the shipwrecked on the Metis, is itself so unjust to them and to others as to call for correction. It unjustly neglects to name three out of the five whose courage and humanity it proposes to commeniorate. Their names were Eugene S. Nash, Willam Nash, and Edwin Nash. It even mistakes the number-seven, instead of five, on the boat; it is also mistaken in regard to the case which it specially mentions, in stating that "the boy was rubbed back to life" on board the boat. He was brought back to life by care and warmth on board the Moccasin, the presence of which is so slightingly referred to. It gives no credit to the second engineer, who, having assisted the boy when exhausted on the skylight, saved him from being left for dead, as he apparently was, urging the boatmen, when that not unnatural proposition was made, "to give the boy his chance," which indeed they readily did. The name of the engineer was Edward D. Doane, whose deserts have been and are acknowledged by the parties interested, in forms satisfactory at least to him.

This letter also does injustice to the modesty of these gallant men, for their modesty since has been akin to their heroism during those fearful hours. Two of them upon application immediately afterwards refused for a long time to give even their names, and utterly rejected the idea of pecuniary compensation. One has most reluctantly received, in addition to other acknowledgments, a sum of money. Another in writing strongly disclaims a willingness to receive any.

Their services were commemorated in the papers of the day; not adequately, but more fully than by "Viator." Justice has not been done them. What would be justice to them? Has our censor even done them justice? These complaints, untrue certainly in part, probably in much, come not from them. The epithets, "cruel injustice," "shocking," "in-

human," "disgrace," applied so lavishly to the "Steamboat Company, the local authorities, the general public," as well as to "the ungrateful and heedless creatures whom Harvey and Gavitt with their companions saved," to "the Providence newspapers," "the landlords of the Watch Hill hotels," "the partners, relatives, and friends" of the lost jeweller, come not from the men who put out in their frail boat on that stormy sea, but from one who styles himself, with truth probably, "a mere bystander."

This complaint has given occasion, however, to record in this journal, which he truly styles "a leader of public opinion, public honor, and public intelligence" (as they have been in less durable memorials), the names of six men—John D. Harvey, Courtland Gavitt, William Nash, Eugene S. Nash, Edwin Nash, and Edward D. Doane—whose courage, humanity, and modesty are most worthy of commemoration.

B.

NATIONAL REFORMS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sin: Your article upon private-bill legislation touches a point of the deepest interest for the future of our Government and country. I do not believe that the members of the British Parliament are any more public-spirited than our members of Congress, or any more disposed to sacrifice their private interest for the general advantage, although I quite agree with you that their legislative system has been improving for the last thirty years, while ours has been growing "weaker and worse"; and that they have effected national reforms involving great sacrifices on the part of Parliament, while we are falling more and more under the domination of private interests.

All the reforms you mention, and many others of at least equal importance in England, have been accomplished in one way. First, individuals becoming deeply impressed with some public grievance set themselves to arouse public opinion. As this gathers strength, the ministry, acting for the nation, and who are always seeking such methods of advancing their reputation and power, take up the subject, get together all the information upon it, strip it of all that is impracticable, formulate and reduce it to definite shape, and then bring in a bill to Parliament. The opposition, which again naturally falls under leadership, attacks and criticises it, and aims to defeat the ministry in every possible way. The conflict which thus arises gives new strength to public sentiment, adding the powerful element of personal enthusiasm. Thus the name of Sir Robert Peel is indissolubly associated with the repeal of the corn-laws and the Bank Act of 1844; that of Earl Grey with Catholic Emancipation; that of Mr. Gladstone with the Irish Church and Land Bills and the Geneva Arbitration, and so of innumerable other instances. And thus the hostile interests in Parliament, finding the question reduced to definite shape, which they cannot evade by bringing in a dozen other bills, all pretending to aim at the same object, and being reduced to a simple yes or no, with the whole weight of public opinion on the other side, are forced, notens votens, to yield.

Now turn to our Congress. There is no man in it who represents or is authorized to speak for the nation. Every member represents a district, and they are all on an equal footing. Ten, fifty, or a hundred of them may bring in separate bills on the same subject. As a matter of necessity, things are all referred to the committees, which form the most complete wet blanket upon all national legislation. These committees sit in secret, are composed chiefly of men who have a special interest in the subject with which they deal, and who have absolute power to stife any movement which does not suit their views. Even if the House orders them to bring in a bill, it is perfectly easy to kill it by quietly introducing some clause which shall rouse the hostility of members.

Calling upon public sentiment with us, therefore, is like stripping an army of its generals and telling the rank and file that they must win a battle by their combined efforts, and that, too, when the enemy, private interest, is thoroughly organized and drilled. Mr. Forster, the English member of Parliament, told his constituents in a recent speech that the mass of the people have far more need of a strong and resolute government than any special classes, and this is still more true here. In England, the constituency is limited, and can watch its interests more closely; and, moreover, as the ministry is practically elected by Parliament, they are much less directly responsible to the people. Universal suffrage makes a people like an army of peasants, utterly helpless if left to their own efforts. If we want national legislation, we must have national representatives in Congress. It is absurd to charge our failures to universal suffrage while we give the latter no chance at all to make itself felt.

THE MORAL OF IT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with sad satisfaction an article, entitled "The Fate of an Historic Edifice," published in your journal of last week. You have given worthy voice to the indignation that the desceration of the Old South Church has excited in Boston, and in the adjoining towns which make it their centre. But as the pages of the Nation are by no means confined to the presentation of current events in their emotional aspects, I offer a few paragraphs from another point of view. In commenting upon this vandalism, you justify your own apt quotation by eloquently showing "the pity of it." We cannot afford to neglect the moral of it.

I was glad to see that you gave the Old South trustees the benefit of their own announcement, that although they have "no veneration for walls, they do revere Christ their Lord." For if this latter reverence were at all discernible in their corporate action, it might be plausibly argued that we had some compensation for their lack of sentiment in the abundant piety that crowded it out. But are we able to find consolation in this reflection? If there is a sin of this present time which the Christian Church should treat with uncompromising severity, it is the headlong hurry to be rich that, keeping within the letter of the law, violates the spirit of equity that was designed to animate it. The difference between Jus and Lex is undoubtedly one that a pretty large class of our countrymen do not think it worth their while to recognize. But the distinction cannot be ignored with impunity by Christian professors. Lord Bacon gives a sharp opinion upon the deserts of those "who elude and circumvent the meaning of a law by captiousness and craft." And where this is done by persons occupying a position of sacred responsibility, it may furnish a worse example than the breaking of a positive edict, for which the courts provide a remedy for all aggrieved. You probably know that a few of us, who have given some study to the labor question, believe that the just complaint of the workingman arises from the burdens laid upon him by our State and national systems of indirect taxation. We believe that Adam Smith's sound maxim, that all subjects should pay according to their abilities, has been set at naught by the ignorance or negligence of American politicians. General laws have permitted corporations to levy taxes at discretion, and this has been done so adroitly that it will be some time before our busy masses can be made to see it, and provide a remedy. But the day approaches when they will see it. The struggle of the people with corporate powers entrenched behind bad legislation will give historical interest to the remainder of the present century. In that contest, it may reasonably be asked that those professing church-membership should lend a passive influence to the weaker side. It is not impertinent to consider upon which side these Old South trustees, who "revere Christ their Lord," have chosen to place themselves.

It is well known that our statutes exempt from all taxation churches and the land they occupy. In other words, our legislators decree that taxes due to the State for protection of ecclesiastical property shall be annually assessed upon the mass of the people. They decree that whatever annoyance may come to the community through this dwarfing of the capabilities of land by factitious distinctions among its holders, must be patiently borne. I here make no comment upon the wisdom of such legislation. I ask attention to the end it was designed to serve. It is obvious that this great privilege was accorded to church members solely that they might remain undisturbed in a familiar house of worship which their sentiments were supposed to have hallowed. I dely any one to show that this favor was designed to enable a sect to acquire great wealth by taking it without compensation from the only source of wealth-the labor of the people. It was never designed to compel our busy workers with brain and muscle to pay their hard-earned money to propagate the opinions or gratify the pride of some sect with whose views of religious truth only a small minority might sympathize. It was never supposed that the taxes annually assessed upon the people to spare the sentiment of church members, would be massed into an enormous fund to lavish ecclesiastical luxuries upon a sect or congregation. Now, undoubtedly the trustees of the Old South can appropriate to their private sectarian uses these annual gifts of the people for a specific object. They can do this and yet keep within the letter of the law. "I cannot find it; 'tis not in the bond," was the unanswerable reply of one of Shakespears's characters to the remonstrances of certain sentimental citizens of Venice. But then the personage in question never prefessed to "revere" the Head of the Christian church.

These trustees may undertake to excuse themselves by alleging a similar sharpness of practice on the part of other churches. But that two wrongs make a right, or that we may follow the multitude to do evil, cannot have been proclaimed as ethical maxims from the Old South pulpit. Other churches, no doubt, have taken the people's money for their own uses after

a manner which no high court of morals could justify. But they did not take quite so much of it. They did not, at the same time, outrage a popular feeling which cannot be estimated in dollars. There is a venerable saying touching the impolicy of adding insult to injury, which is full of significance.

Nevertheless, these shrewd ecclesiastical appropriations are instructive to the thoughtful, even when they shrink from a publicity which commands general attention. It was modestly stated in my Daily Advertiser some months ago that a certain well-known church in Boston was "understood to be for sale," as soon as anybody would give an enermous price that was then specified. The church in question is in no blind alley crowded by towering warehouses, but holds a noble frontage upon public grounds. Not only is it hallowed by whatever associations may be supposed to cluster about a house of Christian worship, but it has the added sacredness of a place of sepulture. I should have felt that I offered an insult to its proprietors in suggesting that their consecrated edifice could be for sale, even at the Jew's bargain which their long exemption from taxation might give them hopes of wringing from the community. We all remember how Charles Surface, while selling the portraits of his ancestors, cracks a pleasant joke to the effect that if a man wants money, he should be allowed to make free with his own relations. The jest, which may be good enough to excuse the spendthrift who sells his family pictures, can scarcely cover church members who come to market with their family tombs.

Let us face the conclusion of the whole matter. Incorporated church members have no moral right to value that arises from the good-nature of the community in paying their tax-bills. But suppose it is necessary (as for imperative reasons it sometimes is) to change the location of a church, how shall we make an equitable adjustment of claims? I answer unhesitatingly, in one of two ways. Let the original cost of land and building be deducted from the amount realized by their sale, and paid into the treasury of the society-all surplus going into the State coffers to lessen the fiscal burdens of the people. Or, give the society the option of paying, principal and interest, all taxes that would have been assessed upon its possessions had they been treated like lay property, and then let it take a clear title to the remaining value. In either case, it is to be remembered, the pew-holders would carry their privilege of exemption from taxation to any other church they might erect. Their property would still be protected by a special favor whose expediency is questioned by American divines of undoubted orthodoxy. But church members might honestly accept it, because it would be precisely the privilege that the people intended to give them, and no other.

It cannot be devied that the sad fate of the Old South is felt as a personal calamity by the majority of our best citizens. The lesson is indeed bitter; but it may be one that we needed. It will, in many minds, raise the question whether we need burden our workingmen with additional taxes to gratify the supposed sentiment of church members which those who represent them emphatically repudiate. It will cause others to reflect that the increased value of exempted property-which has proved a bait so tempting to Christian professors-is not the gift of Providence to a sect, but rightly belongs to the community that has given its taxed labor, and risked its taxed savings, in the necessary business of this sinful world. The divine command, to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, has never been abrogated. If church members cannot incline their hearts to keep this law, the secular power must give them some assistance. Our legislatures should exact that no sect shall appropriate to its own use the increased value of its exempted property, until the people are indemnified for the expense they have incurred in protecting it. Not only do church builders, as Emerson has it, build better than they know, but church destroyers also may work to higher purpose than they fancy. If the fall of the Old South shall impress upon our voters the truths I have endeavored to indicate, the last sermon preached from that venerated pulpit may be more useful than the best of its predecessors.

J. P. QUINCY.

Qrincy, Mass., December 6, 1872.

[We would suggest to our correspondent, as a point worth consideration, and which certainly he must prepare himself to see urged against his striking argument, that the church societies may be thought to have rendered something of an equivalent for their exemption. Apart from their sectarian, or even their strictly religious value, their general influence, conservative and elevating, will be said to have been worth something to the community, and so it may have been of good policy to encourage them.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

URD & HOUGHTON announce as in press "The Grammar of Painting and Engraving," from the French of Charles Blanc, by Mrs. Kate N Doggett, with original illustrations; "The Butterflies of North America." first series, by W. H. Edwards, consisting of sixty plates, figures life-size. and descriptive letterpress; "More than Conqueror," a memorial of Col. J. Howard Kitching, 6th N. Y. Artillery, Army of the Potomac .- John E. Potter & Co., Philadelphia, will shortly publish a "Complete Bible Cyclopædia," edited by Rev. Wm. Blackwood, D.D., LL.D., pp. 2,000, illustrated by nearly 3,000 engravings. - J. E. Tilton & Co., Boston, will publish "Songs for Our Darlings"-a collection of poems for the youngest children. with an illustration on every leaf .- A weekly periodical to be called "The Table," and which will endeavor to promote the practice of sound gastronomical science in the American household, is announced as soon to appear. Mr. "Barry Gray" is to be the editor, and his efforts may probably be blessed to the improvement of the more wretched of our well-supplied kitchens-where perhaps more good food is worse wasted than anywhere else on earth.

-A movement of some importance has taken place at Albany in the interests of education, being the consolidation of Union College, the Dudley Observatory, and the Albany Law and Medical Schools into the "Union University of New York." There has been a growing desire among the alumni of the college to establish at Schenectady law and medical departments. The present object, however, as stated by Dr. Potter, the president of the college, " is not to create new and struggling institutions, but. in accordance with the spirit of the age, to consolidate and thus to strengthen and perfect institutions already existing." The college will remain in Schenectady and the other institutions in Albany; but as they are only thirty minutes apart, no great inconvenience can result. There will also be in Schenectady "Engineering, Chemical, and Scientific Schools," and a department of "Theological Instruction" under Dr. Tayler Lewis. In the early days of the State, it was seen that a number of struggling institutions must be injurious to higher education, and so carefully was the evil guarded against that the citizens of Albany and Schenectady were twice, we believe, certainly once, refused a charter for Union College, notwithstanding that there was then no college north or west of New York. Of late years this far-sighted policy has been reversed, and any man with more money than he has known what to do with has been allowed to endow a college, and been deemed a public benefactor. The consequence is a number of institutions struggling, like boys beyond their depth, to keep themselves up by dragging the others down. This new movement of consolidation, carried out by commendable concessions as well as co-operation, is one that may yet extend to the consolidation of colleges themselves, and one that must be attended by desirable results.

-We do not know whether the unfinished and discontinued course of lectures which Mr. Henry Stanley has attempted in this city is the only course which he meditates delivering. We suppose it may not be. For although he has but very slender qualifications for delivering instructive lectures on explorations in Central Africa, and would weary an audience in less than ten minutes if he tried to be instructive, he is nevertheless the Mr. Stanley who has travelled to Tanganyika and other more or less unpronounceable places; and throughout the country there are hundreds of townswhere hundreds of people would give half a dollar a piece to see with their own eyes the Saviour of Livingstone, and the small black boy who accompanies bim, and the African lances, shields, bows, arrows, javelius, and garments which decorate the platform, and the American flag which waved over the Herald Expedition. Mr. Stanley's first lecture, which is the only one we have heard, was, we must say, about the most deplorable exhibition of ignorance and self-sufficiency that we have ever been called upon to witness. It was unconsciously offered, or it would have been an atrocious insult to the public; and one could not but think that our British cousins must have been in a little panic about American good-will or they would never have taken up the heavy handful of being civil to our enterprising discoverer. When a gentleman who has but slight deference for Lindley Murray pronounces "prosaic" "prosiac"; and "fertile" with the "i" very long; and "deteriorate" as if it were derived from "deter" and the second "e" in "deter" were a "u"; and "clover" as if the "o" were extremely short-it is with reluctance that one hears him giving his views as to the origin of the negro race or saying that Sir Samuel Baker

and other gentlemen think so and so, but that "Doctor Livingstone and I" think differently. The lecture which we heard may be characterized roughly as being composed of a most tedious enumeration of meaningless African proper nouns, varied by occasional bursts of Herald "headline" eloquence, all delivered in an uncultivated voice and with a manner anything but enlivening. A large map hung beside the lecturer, but no use whatever was made of it, and everything showed incompetence. People in the audience were long-suffering, but about one-quarter of those present left the hall before the lecture was half over, and others were emulating the example of the young African on the platform, who ought to have been in his bed two hours before, and who, in his drowsiness, nearly bobbed his young head off. We should advise Mr. Stanley to eschew ethnology and to stop all articulate aspiration for the evangelization of Africa, to make one talkative lecture of what he saw of Dr. Livingstone, and to deliver it before as many country lyceum audiences as Mr. Redpath can secure for him. The whole thing has been frightfully overdone, the "intellectual department" of the Herald not being extravagantly strong, but the natural desire to look upon a notoriety may be counted on in this case as in others, and Ujiji will still do to conjure with in the rural districts. But offering intelligeut audiences such matter as Mr. Stanley spread before us at Steinway Hall argues a pretty low view of American intelligence, and we would not have the English public believe that it is good enough for us. There have been of late some surprising mistakes made on this point by Englishmen.

-As all of our readers know, many and very grave charges have been for a long time brought against Mr. Froude's historical works. He has been accused of wilfully perverting documentary evidence in a way that amounts to gross falsehood, and his milder judges charge him with a haste of generalization, a warmth of prejudice, and an inability to look fairly at facts, which altogether make his writings thoroughly untrustworthy, and make their reception as true history nothing less than a public misfortune. And these accusations have been brought and urged not merely by Roman Catholic orators speaking glibly before audiences of patriotic Irishmen, but by scholarly men, students of history, with qualifications which, at the least, may be regarded as equal to those of Mr. Froude; and not by Roman Catholics alone, but by men of a confirmed Protestantism quite as strong as that of the person accused. In reply, Mr. Froude has at different times said a great deal, but it is not too much to say that his replies have convinced most persons that at all events those accusations against him which are morally least blamable are probably well founded. This, of course, leaves his writings discredited as untrustworthy; "fraudulent historian" he may not be, but his "History of England" is placed in a very unfortunate position. It is a position which his latest defence in no way betters. He proposes that his enemies shall select a certain number of pages in any part of his works, and that the assertions there made shall be compared with the original authorities in the State Paper Office in England, the persons comparing to be experts supervised by the Keeper of the State Papers, and the expense of the investigation to be borne by Mr. Froude. To this several answers might be given: as that historical works are to hold their own against all comers and in all their parts; that competent experts to spend months in ineffectual researches are hard to find; that, as Colonel James F. Meline remarks, "a very large number of Mr. Froude's historical assertions are totally without support of reference, and what are charged as the gravest offences-his suggestions, concealment, inuendo, attributing of motives, pictorial exaggeration, and pretended psychological introspection-are a'l matters which utterly elude all such tests as he proposes"; and, finally and most forcibly, that there are several very solid and specific charges already fully brought forward against Mr. Froude's fairness and accuracy, and supported by very strong evidence, and that until Mr. Froude clears himself of these he is a historian with a reputation so seriously damaged that further enquiry into his character is entirely un-

—Mr. Froude appears to misunderstand his position, and to be ignorant of the exact estimate put upon it by the more enlightened part of his reading public. The secretaries of Young Men's Christian societies will not tell him so, and do not think so; nor will the distinguished literary men who are invited to meet him and who laud his books to his face. But there are numbers of people who think his literary character under a decided cloud, and who think examining committees of experts uncalled for till, for example, this following instance of inaccuracy is explained, and an explanation is given, too, of an explanation which has already been proffered: In Mr. Froude's eighth volume, at the 211th page, he presents, says Colonel Meline, "a word-picture of Mary Stuart, full of passion and revenge, and adds, 'She said she could have no peace till she had Murray's or Chatelhe-

rault's head,' supporting the passage with this reference : 'Randolph to Cecil, Oct. 5, Scotch MS., Rolls House." Colonel Meline, in a pretty warm little book ("Mary, Queen of Scots, and her Latest English Historian"), which he published two years ago, informed Mr. Froude that his reference was wrong: that no such letter was in existence in or out of the Rolls House; and soon after, a reply which the Colonel thinks was inspired by Mr. Froude, and which we remember as so seeming to us also, was printed in the Tribune. This reply said in substance that Mr. Froude or the printer had made an error of the pen or of the press in naming Randolph as the writer of the letter in question: "It was the Earl of Bedford instead of Randolph who wrote the letter, though, owing to the fact that the latter was at that time about the court and in connection with Bedford, the letter could only have been written with authority of Randolph." But Colonel Meline sent for a certified copy of the Bedford letter, and found that there was in it no such passage as that "she said she could have no peace till she had Murray's or Chatelherault's head." Or take the case of Miss Agnes Strickland. The English Records Offices have of late been a perfect quarry of materials for the historian, and Miss Strickland discovered there a letter written by Lady Lennox, Darnley's mother, which makes it plain that her former opinion of Mary's guilt as regards the murder of Darnley she afterwards fully abandoned, and so informed the Queen. At all events, to write of Mary's connection, real or supposed, with that crime, and not mention this respectful letter-"loving and reverential letter," Miss Strickland calls it-is to fail utterly in the historian's duty. "Judge," says Miss Strickland, "of my strong surprise and indignation at Froude's disgraceful book, which appeared shortly after mine was finished," and which caused a controversy between Miss Strickland and Mr. Froude in the Times. Miss Strickland insisted on the value of the letter which she had discovered, and which was perfectly accessible to Mr. Froude, as to her. For reply he cited a letter written by the Countess two years earlier, when she was indeed persuaded of the guilt of Mary as afterwards she was of her innocence. This called out a letter from Miss Strickland, explaining the misconception under which Lady Lennox at one time labored, but the letter was suppressed by the Times, and, as Miss Strickland avers, by the influence of a relative of Mr. Froude's attached to the staff of that paper. Every reader will see that until such time as Mr. Froude says something perfectly explicit in answer to charges like these, and to some others of which the World of November 30 and December 2 contains specimens, he need hardly ask commissions of experts.

-Nicholas Copernicus, it is generally assumed, was born on the 19th of February, 1473, and died May 24, 1543. Our European exchanges lead us to believe that the four hundredth anniversary of his birth will be celebrated with more éclat, if possible, than that of Galileo, on the 18th of February, 1864. Among other things to take place in commemoration of the great astronomer is the publication of a centenary edition of his great work, "De Revolutionibus Orbium Cœlestium," under the auspices of the Copernican Scientific Society of Thorn, his native place. Unless the work pays for itself the expense will fall upon the society. The state has contributed 2,000 thalers to the contingent expenses. It is to be edited by Dr. Curtze, with notes and comments; and to be collated with the original manuscript, which still exists, and belongs to the "Majoratobibliothek" of the Rostitz family in Prague. This will be the fifth edition of the great work. The first was published in 1543 at Nürnberg, the second in Basle in 1566, the third in Amsterdam in 1617—the two latter being rather imperfect; the fourth in Moscow in 1854, by John Baranovski, the Director of the Observatory in that city.

THE "NEW BROAD CHURCH" IN ENGLAND.

THESE "Thoughts for the Times" are contained in fourteen discourses, not sermons, but lectures slightly flavored with the parenetical herb of grace, the subjects of which are: "The Liberal Clergy," "The Idea of God," "The Science of God," "The Character of Christianity," "The Ethics of Christianity," "The Essence of the Bible," "Trinity, and Original Sin," "Predestination and the Church," "The Lord's Day," "Preaching," "Pleasure," "Sacrifice," "The Law of Progress." To these discourses is appended an address in memory of Frederick Denison Maurice, an affectionate tribute to the teacher, the friend, the man to whom the author owes more, he declares, "than to anybody else in the world." Mr. Maurice was the reputed founder of the English "Broad Church," the "Old Broad Church," as Mr. Haweis calls it, as distinguished from the "New Broad Church" which the disciples of Maurice instituted, and to which he himself belongs. We are rather surprised at Mr. Haweis's statement of the

[&]quot;" Thoughts for the Times. Sermons by the Rev. H. R. Hawels, M.A." 12mo, New York: Holt & Williams. 1872.

chief difference between these two parties. "Truth," he says, "must be restated again and again. Maurice could not bear a restatement; he thought the old forms too sacred for a paraphrase." Perhaps Mr. Haweis knows better than we; but to us it has always seemed that Maurice was the great master of paraphrase; that his ingenuous ingenuity in putting new interpretations on the Articles was his distinguishing characteristic as a theologian. Taking this volume as a sample of New Broad Church teaching, we should say that its peculiarity consisted not so much in giving restatements of the ancient doctrines as in dropping them altogether. The disciple has improved on his master by setting aside what the master tried to explain; for the discussions here of Trinity and Original Sin rather push those great Articles out of view than interpret them.

Mr. Haweis is quite unlike the brethren of the Broad Church whose names are familiar to us. He is less vague, mystical, and redundant than Maurice, less terse, didactic, and incisive than Robertson, less poetical and sentimental than Stopford Brooke. Maurice was a theologian, as Mr. Haweis, judging by these chapters, is not. Robertson, if not a philosopher, was a philosophical critic, which Mr. Haweis cannot claim to be to anything like the same extent. He presents himself rather as a bright-minded, cultured, frank, independent man, intellectually and heartily earnest, well furnished with thoughts of an interesting character, and gifted with a remarkably free utterance. That he is not without consciousness of his importance may be inferred from the "arguments" prefixed to the individual sermons in this volume, though these may have been suggested by the author's evident desire to be well understood. The same ingenuouspess may explain his acknowledgments to Froude, Lecky, Spencer, Matthew Arnold, Emanuel Deutsch, Dr. Hussey, and Mr. H. W. Beecher, for thoughts borrowed from their writings.

Mr. Haweis's leaning is towards scientific rationalism. But for his announcement that he had been five years the incumbent of St. James's, Westmoreland Street, Marylebone, London, we should suppose, from the offhand treatment of his themes, that he was a rationalizing Unitarian. His acknowledgment of mental indebtedness to the men we have just named (and he might have added Darwin) is not formal. He has been indebted to these writers for more than he acknowledges; at heart he is in sympathy with them; he has surrendered to them his theological beliefs. "If the church," he says, "cannot utilize some of the best men of the age, the church will go down. Those who, under the garb of a spurious piety, refuse to recognize facts-those who oppose themselves to the voice of scientific. social, and religious progress, will find themselves, ere long, in a very poor minority." "We do not mind dogmas, but we don't want inflexible dogmas, We don't mind theology, but we must not allow our theology to rough-ride conscience and exterminate religion." He declares that "the time has gone by for ever when it is possible for an educated person to declare that Christianity is true and every other religion false. Christianity must take its place in the history of the world among other religions, and must be regarded as a point, and a turning-point, in the harmonious religious development of the race. He quotes with evident approval Professor Jowett's assertion, made in his own pulpit, that we might cull from past religions all the principal ethical doctrines of Christianity. "The sacrificial portion of Christianity," he admits, "is certainly neither new nor original. You might go further, perhaps, and single out every petition of the Lord's Prayer, for instance, in the literature that already existed at the coming of Christ." "If we want to discover the origin of dogmas about the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost, we must go to the Greek schools of Alexandrian philosophy-not the Gospel. The Greek mind has done our theological thinking for us." "The very words Predestination and Verbal Inspiration are in my ears as the explosion and bursting-up of old smoothbore cannon." . Again: "I implore you to take reasonable views of the Bible. It is futile to believe in its infallibility; such a belief, logically carried out, must lead you into both immorality and error." "To preach that the Bible is infallible is most dangerous to morals, and especially derogatory to the character of the Supreme Being, as we have now learned to believe in Him." The author's sympathy with the essential doctrines of Mr. Darwin may be inferred from a passage like this: "Speaking accurately and scientifically, the stream of tendency is God. God is the stream of tendency by which all things fulfil the law of their being. God may be, and doubtless is, more-but he is that."

After these quotations, Mr. Haweis's opinions about Pleasure, Sacrifice, the Lord's Day, need not be enumerated. They are such as are entertained by very few Churchmen, by scarcely any "Evangelicals," by no single Puritan, but by very many if not by most men of the world. He does not condemn balls or theatres, but rather approves of occasional attend ance on them, as beloing to keep up their tone. He does advise people

to keep away from the race-course "if they have no hope of being able to do anything towards the purification of the system of betting, cheating, dishonesty, lying, and debauchery that goes on during the races." "But that which gives horse-races their civilized locus standi may be a good thing." His doctrine of sacrifice is many degrees removed from asceticism. The lecture on the "Law of Progress" will be satisfactory to believers in evolution. "The Law of Progress" he declares, almost in the phrase of Herbert Spencer, "is a procession from the simple to the complex, from what is homogeneous to what is heterogeneous." "Adam, as a man, was very much the kind of being which Mr. Darwin and Mr. Herbert Spencer have described."

These opinions are familiar to people of ordinary intelligence, and are met with in popular literature. The remarkable circumstance here is that they are given out in the pulpit of a minister of the Church of England. To be sure, we are prepared for a good deal from a church which allows Professor Jowett to continue in its communion and makes of Mr. Stanley a dean. But Mr. Haweis goes much further than either of these gentlemen have ventured in their public utterance. He himself is aware of the necessity of justifying his position. To those who say to him, "If you don't like the Church, leave the Church; you are simply an officer of the state, and as long as the state maintains certain formulas, you ought to maintain them," he makes substantially the reply that a young American rector made to a blunt friend who urged on him a similar objection-" I stay in the Church in order to maintain the indifference of dogma. By leaving it I should confess the saving importance of opinions, the very thing I most strenuously deny." I am under the control of the state, says Mr. Haweis. The state puts forward a series of articles and formularies which it requires its ministers, and, in fact, all its members, to subscribe as members of the National Church. Now, when the state did that, it no doubt tried to get as near the truth as possible. But do you tell me that the state meant to fix these formulas as expressions of truth beyond which there was no expression of truth possible ? Do you suppose that when the state denied to the Church of Rome the power to fix dogmatic truth or ceremonies, she arrogated to herself the privilege of doing so? I don't believe it for a moment; and for this reason-because the very action of the state, in remodelling the forms of faith, was a protest against the fixedness of such forms.

Very ingeniously and adroitly argued is this, somewhat too adroitly, the question being by no means fairly put. England threw off the Romish Church as a political despotism, but did not so absolutely repudiate the Church's title to fix points of faith. But let that pass. Grant that the forms of sound doctrine may be varied, even to the degree that Maurice and Robertson varied them, is it permissible to alter the very substance of them as Mr. Haweis does? At the heart of the Church doctrine lies the theory of media. tion by the sacrifice of a redeemer. The terms in which this act of mediation is described may be altered to suit the intelligence of different epochs and nations of men; but the theory itself is vital to the existence of the National Church; it cannot be discarded without shaking the entire fabric of dogma and rite in pieces, thus abolishing the institution. Now, unless we have read these discourses carelessly, their author not only substitutes a new phraseology for the old one, but substitutes a new theory for the old one, rejects the whole idea of mediation, and constructs his religious system from another set of opinions-so radically reconstructing the scheme of salvation that scarcely a hint of it is left. The very mention of it is rather tolerated as an indulgence than insisted on as an important matter. The consciousness of an Euglish Churchman is something we have not the presumption to try to fathom; we only feel that if conscience had free play in it, such reasoning as this of Mr. Haweis's would be set down as sophistry, and the conduct based on it would be in great danger of being pronounced dishonest.

It is quite true, we make haste to acknowledge, that Mr. Haweis says a good many things in the course of these lectures that are intended to break the force of such strong expressions as we have quoted above-things about the "minor personality of God," whatever that may be, and the divine character of Jesus, and the regenerating influences of Christianity, and the peculiar and original type of the Gospel ethics, and the miracles, and the moral inspiration of the Bible, and the Trinity, and the Incarnation, and about many things besides, speculative and practical. Some of these sayings are just and noble, some of them are finely, all of them are elegantly and earnestly said; but some of them are vague, sentimental, rhapsodical; some of them are evasive; and some of them, we regret to say, do not give evidence of the writer's study of the best authorities; they will not, in a word, bear critical examination; and taken as he puts them they do not meet the objection that he tampers with the substance and not merely with the formularies of faith. They do not wholly set him right with the Church, nor fully justify him in standing where Maurice and Robertson stood with

CHILDREN'S HOLIDAY BOOKS.*

YOUNG man at a bar, somewhere in California, remarked that the whiskey was bad; whereupon an old competator turned and said, "Young man, never say that again. All whiskey is good. Some whiskey is better than other whiskey, but all whiskey is good." All Mr. Trowbridge's Yankee stories are good, but some of them are better than others, and among the better ones we do not place this year's "Jack Hazard." The idea of the story is excellent-the finding of an old trunk of counterfeit half-dollars in a log by the boy, his excitement over his treasure, which he believes to be gennine, and the bad effect on him of the gain of sudden wealth. The secondary idea is also good-the claiming of the "treasure" by old miserly Squire Peternot, on whose land it was found, and the confusion to which he and his greedy nephew are brought in the end by the discovery of its "bogus" nature. But in the filling out of this plan, the farcical turn of Mr. Trowbridge's invention, if it may be so called, gets so entirely the better of his judgment, that he permits Jack and the money to go through a series of adventures which, though possible, are almost on a par in probability with the extraordinary coincidences in the play of Box and Cox. As we have said before in reviewing Mr. Trowbridge, he always seems to write with the stage in his eye, and is too often not able to resist the beguilings of trapdoors and actors with nothing to do but enter in the nick of time. This habit does not necessarily prevent his characters from being natural, but it certainly makes the motive and moral of the story theatrical and void of effect. A writer of this kind does well not to burden himself with too weighty a moral object; the one hit upon in "Coupon Bonds" was exactly suited to carry the material and style of the work. But in "Jack Hazard" the attempt to write a book which would not only amuse but really improve a boy, was only imperfectly successful in the volume of last year, while in the one of this year it is made so entirely subordinate to the fun and excitement of the adventures, that one feels a little bit sentimental in mentioning such a thing as a moral at all. In the line of ingenuity, let alone as a lesson of youth, the conclusion of the story is a most singular failure. Jack resigns the money nobly, sees the advantages of modest gain over sudden riches, and gives himself up to the law, only after he has discovered the treasure to be a fraud! Perhaps Mr. Trowbridge thought it would be too great a strain on the credulity of his audience to ask them to believe any more of the powers of a boy's virtue, but we think it would have been a much easier task than to believe that a boy ever skewered an old man into a log with sticks, or locked up a whole village in a court-room. Besides, it is a good thing for boys to be asked to give ear to the stories of unusual and even impossible virtue, for a struggle to resemble his heroes is common to every boy's breast; while it is far from being so good a thing to hold up to their wonder a series of exploits in outwitting country-folk which no young reader could have an excuse for enjoying, except the love of brag.

We have Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen with us again this Christmas, in another volume of his ingenious and lively fairy stories. With the other reading in the book, there may be found at the back extracts from notices made of his previous publications for children by various English papers. These are all very strong sentences of praise, one even professing the author's imagination to be as fanciful as Grimm's, and "some of his stories superior to anything Hans Christian Andersen has written." Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen is a great admirer of Andersen's, and one of his books is either dedicated to him-if we remember aright-or speaks of him in a dedicatory passage as one whom the writer holds in veneration and humbly strives to resemble. For our own part, we are willing to concede any amount of fancifulness of imagination to Mr. Hugessen, but a resemblance between him and Andersen in any essential particular, or even a trace, outside of the declaration referred to, that the former considers the latter as worthy of emulation, seems one of the most impossible discoveries to be made. Their names both end in sen, they are both writers about children and for children con amore, and they both deal in a mixture of homely and familiar and supernatural materials that is extremely effective. After these likenesses, the only comparison between them is suggested by the strong contrast. The one is poetical, delicate, gentle as a woman, with spiritual meanings hidden under his fantasies, and with a humor of the most refined sort. The other is extraordinarily ingenious, but never by any accident poetical; he is undeniably coarse; his talent and his fun are for the rough and boyish, and the boots and trowsers are always to be detected peeping beneath the girls' frocks.

Above all, his tales make no spiritual suggestions of any sort, although such are frequently inserted or appended, so that the reader shall by no chance "Tales at Tea-time" are an improvement on their predeoverlook them. cessors, inasmuch as they do not count among them one ogre story, one robber or murder story, nor, to keep balance with the horribleness, one of the preposterous religious conclusions which we pointed out last year in "Crackers for Christmas" and "Moonshine." This is so very pleasant a change that we make the charge of coarseness with regret, and desire to modify it as much as possible by saying that it is not a kind of coarseness to be seriously objected to, but only one which denotes an imagination far removed in kind from that of Hans Christian Andersen. An illustration of what we mean will be found in "The Boy with a Tail," and how surgeons are sent for to cut it off, but refusing to do so are kicked out of the house; how the tail is tied up in a bag, and the boy's life made miserable by having it; how he catches fish with it-holding it in the water for them to bite at, and then landing them dexterously on the bank. Also, in the "Pea-green Nose," where the beautiful princess who is disfigured by this peculiarity has the color licked off by an enchanted dog and cat, who take turns at it while she is asleep. Unless we have entirely misread the author of the "Gingerbread Man and the Gingerbread Maiden"-that most pathetic and refined of funny innocent stories—he would shudder even in his grave at conceptions like these. To show what we mean by the girls being boys in disguise, take the "War in Dolldom"-a particularly good story it is, too-or see in "The River King" where "Amelia Jane" in a fury "turned the lobsters head over heels, right and left, on each side of the throne, and kicked the king's velvet cap into the air, at the same time giving the monarch a push which sent him rolling down the steps of the throne," etc.

There is one curious oversight or accident in the book; it might be called a different name in another writer, but Mr. Hugessen has far too abundant a supply of material of his own to be accused of poaching on anybody else's manor except through inadvertence; and that is a page or two of bald imitation of the "Alice" books. Mary is in the River King's dominions. She said as civilly as she could:

"I'm sure I didn't mean any harm; I am very sorry if I have been rude or unkind to anybody. But, you know, it seems so odd to see one's best doll turned into a queen all of a sudden, and seeming just as if she

didn't know one and had never seen one."

"Don't say 'one' so often," interrupted a lobster sharply; "you've said it three times in that last sentence, so you ought to say 'three' now, by all the rules of grammar and arithmetic." Mary stopped whilst the lobster was speaking, but as soon as he had done she went on, everybody keeping strict silence and listening with the deepest attention. "And then, you know—"
"Don't say 'you no' again," said the other lobster; "you might as well say 'you yes' now and then, if only for a change!"

Mr. Hugessen is at his best in the "Story of a Horse," and in the main all the stories are up to his average in entertainment and vivacity. To the abundance of these qualities the children all testify.

"Roundabout Rambles," by Frank R. Stockton, is, without exception, the very best book for children we have had the pleasure of reading in a long time. There is a collection of illustrations, from all sorts of works, made by author or publisher, and a short story, varying from a page and a half to several pages in length, fitted to each one. All the stories are told so apparently con amore that it seems as if the author must have had a hand in choosing his subjects; and yet some of the pictures are so feebly suggestive of narrative, that it looks as though they were put in for their own sake by the person who controlled the plates. If this latter case be true, it is difficult to find a place where the writer's ingenuity and fertility have not been more than a match for the illustrator. Mr. Stockton has an unusual combination of qualifications for telling stories to the young. He not only narrates with spirit, but with an excellent perception of what is interesting from a child's point of view. We remember to have seen a small boy on the knee and under the spell of just such a magnetic historian, who described a tremendous fox-hunt, with a countenance of intense seriousness, taking his cue as to where to bear on and where to abridge from the boy's face-so expressive of every shade of feeling; and who, by the mere skill of perfect sympathy, excited the small hearer to a pitch of intense enthusiasm, and a resolution to get ready immediately for foxes. Many stories illustrate this trait, but none better than "Building Ships," suggested by a small cut of the "Great Eastern." No natural boy with the least turn for a boat or for tools could read that simple description of how to construct a toy vessel, without a glow and a desire to get to work. Another qualification is the author's sense of responsibility—a trait which in lively story-tellers is so frequently and sadly lacking. Perhaps it is simply instinctive good judgment and refined moral feeling, and not a distinct intention of quietly encouraging what is good, and as quietly suppressing or turning aside what is rough or course or sentimental in the thought of the juvenile audience; but it sounds very thoughtful and paternal. And here there is a temptation to draw a com-

^{* &}quot;A Chance for Himself; or, Jack Hazard and his Treasure. By J. T. Trowbridge, author of 'Jack Hazard and his Fortunes,' 'Lawrence's Adventures,' 'Coupon Bonds,' 's etc. Boston: J. R. Oegood & Co.

"Tales at Tea-time. Fairy Stories by B. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P., author of 'Moonshine,' 'Crackers for Christmas,' 'Stories for my Children,' etc." Illustrated by William Brunton. Loudon and New York: Macmillan & Co.

"Roundabout Rambies in Lands of Fact and Farcy. By Francis R. Stockton," New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

parison which is suggested not by any means for the first time. American juveniles are certainly superior to English ones in all that relates to the humanities. It is to be feared that a British publisher, accustomed to cater for pugnacious little British boys—boys more or loss familiar with the fagging system, and brought up from the very nursery on fighting traditions and the necessity of proving manliness by occasionally getting and giving black eyes—would consider the "Big Game" stories of "Roundabout Rambles" as very "slow." The terrific points are toned down, not adorned; the slaughters are not dwelt on with elaboration, as in English books, but softened or made short work of; and all this without mitigating the truth, or being in the least namby-pamby. The roughest boy could enjoy the vigor of the writing without having his propensities encouraged.

Mr. Stockton amuses himself humorously over his small audience without forgetting that his business is to entertain the young folks, and not only the old. One story alone, "Going after the Cows," will perhaps be relished rather more by the elders than the little boys whom it describes; but it is really a gem of its kind, and we would on no account spare it from the book. The author seems to betray a Pennsylvania origin or training, not more by his Quaker-like gentleness of spirit than by his persistent use of will in place of shall, and by several other peculiarities, more or less failings of the Keystone State. "Little Bridget's Bait" ought to be mentioned as an exceedingly nice specimen of innocent fairy story.

Das Wichtigste aus der Phraseologie bei Nepos und Casar . . . nach Materien georduet, von Dr. Georg Wichert. (Berlin. 1872. Pp. 164.)-If the study of Greek and Latin ever tends again to a more wholesome and rational method; if less attention is paid to etymological speculations, and a great deal more attention is paid to the thought and diction of the masters and to the literature; in short, if the classics are studied as classics, for themselves, such books as this will command attention. In one sense it may be called a kind of dictionary to Nepos and Cæsar. But the arrangement is not that of a dictionary. It is not a collection of words in alphabetical order, but of expressions and phraseological combinations grouped under certain leading ideas or categories. To give a hint of the arrangement, we quote the titles of a few divisions: I. Physical Matters: under this head are given fire, heat and cold, space and place, hills, woods, rivers, the sea, islands, etc. II. Time, Duration of Time, Passage of Time, Special Divisions of Time. III. The Animal World. IV. The Human Body and its Parts. V. Life, Sickness, Death, Burial, VI. Hunger, Thirst, Meals, Food and Drink. VII. Good Fortune, Misfortune, etc., etc. There are twenty-eight such headings, military matters in a writer like Cæsar naturally covering the most ground. At the end of the book is an alphabetical list of words. A series of collections like this for the principal authors would be a valuable auxiliary to the Latin lexicon. Not the least merit of the book is its suggestions for the young scholar. Niebuhr, in discoursing somewhere on the value of indexes, recommends index-making itself as a most instructive occupation for the student of language and history; and perhaps there is more truth than satire in Pope's well-known lines:

"Index-learning turns no student pale, Yet holds the eel of science by the tail."

To make collections somewhat on the system sketched by Dr. Wichert, would be more instructive than the mere alphabetical indexes Niebuhr had in mind.

The Ten Laws of Health; or, How Disease is Produced and can be Prevented. By J. R. Black, M.D. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1872.) -This is perhaps on the whole the best popular book on hygiene which has appeared in our country. Most of our hygeio-maniacs have had some hobby or other which they have ridden to its death or to that of the unfortunate disciple who ventured to mount behind them. But with the exception of his undiscriminating veto of all stimulants, Dr. Black's precepts are marked by a fair amount of temperateness and judgment. His style partakes somewhat of the roughness and heat with which one is familiar in this class of books, in which menace of the wrath that is to come, persuasion, and exhortation usually take as large a place as detailed practical advice. But if this were made a reproach to him, Dr. Black would justly reply that he writes to awaken those who now are well, and to keep them from presuming on their capital of vitality as if it were inexhaustible. We may by vicious ways of living sow the seed of misery before we begin even to suspect the bitter. taste of the fruit; and when we do, it is almost always too late for reparation The exceedingly long cycles in which physiological causation works, the latent accumulation of deteterious influences-masked perhaps the while by an appearance of benefit-and their sudden blossoming into permanent effect, form not only one of the most interesting theoretic problems for the

physician, but one of the chief practical obstacles to the physical improvement of the race. For of the public total of infirmity that prudence might prevent, less is caused by ignorance of sanitary rules than by indifference to them-the confidence of us stout fellows who now feel so well while disregarding them, that we may go on to the consummation of centuries and be none the worse. With regard to insanity, for instance, Dr. Ray says at least two generations are usually required to accomplish the various stages in the development of the disease. Dr. Black's hortatory tone needs therefore no excuse; and the omission from his book of minute rules for the delicate may be explained by its being addressed exclusively to those as yet well. Nevertheless we think it errs through too great generality. Why not say a word, for instance, of the great use to certain constitutions of a nan in the afternoon, and of doing no brain-work at night? of the advisability to business men of eating their heaviest meal after their hard day's work is over, and so forth? Nothing, either, is said of vacations, which our infamous business customs deny to so many of us, but which may be called indispensable to the proper performance of each and all of us in the long run. A strong man may do without one for one, two, or three years, and hardly know it; but after ten years he will be a different being from what he would have proved if, for a solid month each year, he had been able to forget his cares, and let the galled spots of the mind heal entirely over. We hope Dr. Black's book may have the circulation it deserves, especially among the less instructed; and we close with an extract whose lesson may be new to some of our readers :

"During the winter season at least two pairs of drawers and two undershirts should always be worn. . . . The advantage of two or three layers of flannel next the skin is not in the weight, nor in the bulk, but in the fact that each layer is a wall within a wall, holding warm air between them. Two pounds of wool put into the body of a single garment does not shield the body half as well as that quantity made into two and then worn double. Let those who doubt this try the experiment."

	F THE WEEK.
Authors.—Tilles.	Publishers Prices.
Abbott (J. S. C.), Daniel Boone	Young Life in the Country
Drake (S. A.), Old Landmarks and Histo	ric Personages of Boston
	(J. R Osgood & Co.) 3 00
Forster (J.) Life of Charles Dickens, Vol. Grimshaw (W.) Handy Dictionary Gardner (F.), Phædrus, Justin, Nepos	(J. B. Lipprocott & Co.)
Hathaway (W. E.), Christopher Crooked: Holly (B), System of Water Supply and	a Christmas Story, (G. P. Putnam & Sons) 1 00 Fire Protection, swd(Lockport)
Laing (Mrs. C. H. B.). The Seven Kings	of the Seven Hills (Porter & coates)
McCarthy (J.), Modern Leaders	(Shelden & Co.)
Mayer (Prof. A. M.). The Earth a Great M	lagnet, swd(C. C. Chatfield & Co.) 0 25
Mathews (Prof. W.), Getting on in the W	orld (S. C. Griggs & Co.) 2 25
Pyle (M. C.), Hugo's Gavroche	(Porter & Contes)
Treasure Trove	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)

Fine Arts.

SOME MODERN SCULPTURE.

I.

WE have already remarked upon the fact, which, until we come to think about it, is a curious one, that foreign sculptors are generally unknown here, even by name, while foreign painters of merit are familiar to as large a public on our side the Atlantic as on their own. There is no cause but a very slavish one, the natural depravity of inanimate matter, or, in other words, the refusal of stone to be readily moved and made popular. The other day, the Atlantic Monthly set us to thinking, by stating its opinion that an interesting statue by one of our home sculptors reduced the other sculpture of the day to a condition of inferiority. American sculpture seems to us to be in a promising and healthful state. We have Palmer, and Powers, and Miss Hosmer for works of sentiment; Ward, Launt Thompson, and others for subjects of heroism; and several competent portrait-sculptors, while the graphic character-sketches of Mr. Rogers are thoroughly pleasant in their way. This is no mean exhibit; and there are other sculptors of eminence among us whose names will occur to our readers. The selection, however, of an American work of genins to place at the head of the whole result and production of European genius is, in our eyes, not judicious; and we had really forgotten the prevalence of the boast that sprung up some years ago, when Crawford and Powers were in the ascendant, and Palmer was beginning to come forward, about America's whipping the world in sculpture. This opinion, doubtless still alive in all its vigor, has got into a class of the public which we no longer come across, and we had overlooked its vigor and its existence, until we were reminded by the Atlantic's venturing to give it expression that it is an opinion still proudly glowing in some bed or other of the social formation, and provided with an occasional crater through which to utter itself. Foreign sculpture is a vast and complicated outgrowth, excelling in countless lines of energy. There are now living one hundred and ninety-three sculptors whom the French Ministry of Fine Arts has judged worthy of special reward. They and their fellow-craftsmen have been raised into distinction by the same critics and the same enlightenment of public taste that have conferred fame upon painters like Couture, Gallait, Piloty, Baudry, Merle, Meissonier, and the rest. They have as many merits, foibles, and differences of bent as the painters. Yet in America we hear nothing of them, and a dilettante who would be ashamed to know nothing of Couture would be not at all ashamed to know nothing of Carpeaux and Paul Dubois.

It is better, in a mere bird's-eye view such as this must be, to confine ourselves to one national school. The French is the best for our purpose. In France, the study of antique art is very deep and systematic, but there is an equally strong predilection for the art of the Revival; from this has arisen the fact that French artists are willing to add a grace, if they can, to the antique. They consider, for example, that the Greeks are improvable in one important matter, the expression of flesh texture. Only a few antiques, of the very highest class, push the imitation of the skin as far as it may be pushed; the Greek desire to give the essence of human form, to make a marble bust, probably forbade the very effort. French art, ever since Rubens decorated the Luxembourg with the history of Marie de Medicis, and there showed his matchless understanding of what Taine calls "the fluidity of life," has taken great care of this department. Puget profited by the study of Rubens to give the flesh of his statues a sense of life, blood-circulation, and pliability which the ancients hardly got. It is a mere discovery in realism, but a glance at the wrinkling, crisping, sweating skins of Puget's heroes, true Rubens heroes in stone, is very impressive. This realism is the present tradition in which a large proportion of French sculpture is conceived. There are not wanting, however, sculptors who occasionally essay the large, generalized, abstracted manner of the Greeks. We think of a recent cast, the name of whose author we have forgotten. but certainly an artist of repute: it was a sketch left at this artist's death, found worthy of preserving, and cast in bronze with the marks of the sculptor's thumbs plainly seen on many parts of it. It had so perfectly the Greek look that we might have declared it an imperfect antique, an experiment from the hands of him who carved the "Discobolus Watching"; there were the small athlete's head, the round-polled crown, the limbs linked together with those soft interfluent lines of muscle wherein the ancients so wonderfully excelled. It sat in a pose as simple and original as the "Boy and Thorn," one leg bent under the body, and the innocent face raised in a perfect directness and simplicity. To a sculptor, it had the same self-possessed, satisfying imitation of the Greek accent that certain writings of Thackeray have of the accent of Queen Anne's age. There is another statue that may be pointed to as also entering the lists with antique art. Those who recollect Perraud's "Infancy of Bacchus," in the centre of a room in the Luxembourg, will recollect how nearly a modern artist has succeeded in throwing off the cumber of this complicated age and adopting the simplicity of the Greek outlook. The Bacchus is a baby, dancing on the shoulder of a faun, whom it holds by one leaf-shaped ear. The suggestion is similar to that of the antique " Bacchus and Silenus," but there is no resemblance in the treatment. To entangle the eye for ten minutes among the pectoral and serrated muscles of the faun's torso is to get an unconquerable impression that the chest is breathing. The arm which bears the strain of the infant contains a daring experiment, one of the "mistakes" of sciolistic criticism; it shows, along the length of the forearm, two or three depressions, or tucks, or hitches, in the inside line, where muscles cross or bind each other; it is an effect previously unknown in art; and we were somewhat sceptical, we confess, until we once caught a model, in strong action, showing just the same result. The type of this sitting faun is illusively like the autique; it is a lithe, supple man of the woods, not quite so much padded as the generality of Greek models, but singularly like them too; as with them, each muscle dislikes to announce its precise edges, but does its best to alip undiscovered into some other muscle; and as with them, every square inch of every muscle is supremely happy, blessed with free air and balanced

Either of the two tours de force just spoken of deserves a long lecture. Perhaps the difficulty of a modern's rendering of the Iliad into a perfectly satisfactory imitation of Homer's manner is a small task in comparison with what is achieved in both cases. We must leave them immediately. The next direction of the modern spirit we would speak of is the study of adolescence. This bent we would not refer to admiration of the antique, because it is expressed in a very sharp realism, while the great Greek adolescent subjects are idealized as much as they can possibly bear, and become quite hermaphroditic in their pursuit of elegance. We would refer the taste rather to a strong love for Michael Angelo's "David." This stripling giant, with his divine "gawkiness" (there is no other word), with his

great joints and extremities, and with his inexplicable captivating quality. turns his back upon the Old Palace, the lasting exemplar and poem of an angelic hobbledehoy. A surprising number of modern sculptors have taken up the "David's" period-the term of adolescence. To a ripe scholar, surfeited with infinite eramming of the antique, the coltish imperfection of healthy boyhood has something of a tang, a flavor, unknown to the study of mellow and perfectly ripened man. Theseus and Hercules are willingly left for the company of lusty youth: for all this, no budding Bacchuses and Cupids are represented, nor anything erotic. We could easily reckon up a dozen salient, remarkable statues of such subjects as we mean. There are Moulin's figure of a boy who has found an autique daucing bronze at Pompeii, and falls to imitating its attitude; Falguière's "Winner at the Cockfight," running along at the top of his speed, and snapping his fingers to the bird perched on his arm; Blanchard's "Young Equilibrist," in which the pose has a daring allowable in bronze perhaps, but suggestive of chie; Delaplanche's "Child Mounted on a Tortoise"; Fesquet's "Young Fann Playing with a Goat"; Sanson's "Saltarella Dancer"; and many more artists and subjects. At nearly the head of this kind of realism we might place the "Young Florentine Singer of the Fifteenth Century," by Paul Dubois; the simplicity of this masterpiece, like that of a perfectly bred lady, does not at first strike you with so much surprise as with a sense of ineffable comfort; the imagination must needs be softly titillated with anything so rare, so reserved, so reposeful; after being seen, it goes on caressing the memory like perfume. This singing boy is merely a lad, in hose and doublet that perfectly define his slender form, singing like a native of Atlantis; it eludes description as the stem of a water-lily eludes the fingers. These studies of adolescence of course touch by some of their sides upon other motives of art. There is one exquisite creation in this spirit, by Jouffroy, in which the half-formed developments are those of a girl; it is the image of a little maid, smooth as any eel, reaching up on tiptoe to breathe her secret into the ear of a stonylooking terminal statue of Venus. Some touch upon religious art: by Dubois, author of the "Florentine Singer" just named, there is a "Youthful Saint John," naked, open-mouthed, positive, angry, and dictatorial, going out to convert the wilderness with a boy's confidence and a boy's contempt of consequences and delays; and by Falguière, author of the "Cockfighter,' there is a pathetic figure of Tarcinus, a martyr who died carrying the eucharist and defending the body of God from the blows of the heathen. Some border upon the style of heroism and artistic declamation or eloquence: the busts of the "Young Gracchi," by Guillaume, are superb orations, as it were, in favor of aristocracy, divine right, caste, and natural distinction; the serious hauteur of these unfledged lads, rising up in a phantom-like manner through the top of their pedestal, embracing each other and reserved to all the world besides, is a more pointed essay on Roman character than could be found in Gibbon. These works of art with didactic motive are, however, something radically different from the simple studies of youthful lustihood we selected as marks of the type. We shall add to the instances we have chosen, though, a work by Frémiet, the animal sculptor, whose "Wounded Dog" in bronze is one of the decorations of the Luxembourg; the work of Frémiet's which shows the spirit of boyhood is a "Young Faun," teasing some bear-cubs by punching their noses, as they try to reach a comb of honey; it is in marble, life-size; but the small bronze reproduction can be seen at any importer's; the malicious faun, flat on his stomach, with his goat's haunches spread upon the ground like a design for a lyre, is delightfully original, quaint, and unsophisticated. Nothing would better cure our nineteenth-century cares, perhaps, than to live in a gallery of these lank, more or less clumsy, eager, and non-morbid boy figures.

Other artists attack the antique, but not in the imitative spirit so much as in the cultured, literary, studying spirit, as do the paintings of Gérôme: an example is the fine "Aristophanes" of the late F. C. Moreau. Others can interpret the spirit of the French salon with a tact, a discernment, a sense of balance, that are inexpressible; high in this line we would place the statue of the Empress Josephine by Dubray. She is a colossal woman, perhaps eight or nine feet high, framed in a standing collar of marble lace, and beclouded with a volume of long drapery, which she may have just arranged with her foot. She is enormous, yet she is all sensitiveness and fragility; she has creole features, and the pride of Satan; she is evidently parvenue, yet as evidently a social monarch; the artist has known how to make her the fictitious empress of a throne-room, and the born queen of a salon. There are artists whose portraits have incredible vigor; they seem, as the French say, ready to blow their noses; such are the busts of Carpeaux. whose dancing figures for the opera, precisely resembling casts from life, shocked the delicate sense of convenance which so skilfully covers French license. Another fine portrait sculptor is Guillaume, author of the "Gracchi" already mentioned, who executed for Prince Napoleon the "Seven Ages" of Napoleon Bonaparte. We cannot go on with these enumerations; we but meant to give hints here and there of the exuberance of modern talent in a walk we seldom see. The sole examples of Continental sculpture which we habitually meet are chimney and other bronzes. The liberties and audacities of bronze are comprehended by French sculptors, with keen insight. Bronze has always occupied a place about halfway between marble statuary and pictures; the Pompeii bronzes take full advantage of the facility of undercutting and challenge the Pempeii frescoes in dash and originality. A momentary attitude, that would be offensive in marble, is agreeable in a bronze, much as it would be in a painting. Great liberties of equilibrium are accordingly allowed, while some of the antique heads have wire hair fastened on. This sentiment explains the tossing attitude and sketchy

draperies of many of the small bronzes that come over to us. A perfect example of the spirit, developed in large, is the "Rembraudt," by Oliva, in the Luxembourg. It is tempestuous, fluttering, romantic, with draperies so real that you think you could undress it. Bronze is the vehicle chosen by Barye for his lions and panthers-wonderful existences, restless carnivorous passions. taken out of their furry skius, and revealed to us by moral dissection; boldly discarding the imitation of hide which conceals anatomy, and is not worth trying to render. Barye pursues what is worth trying for, the muscular action of the creature, and gives a denuded, unveiled study which must be a good deal like the animal's personal conception of itself, as it lies in its den and thinks how it would feel to spring upon an eligible victim.

THE EIGHTH YEAR-VOL. XVI.

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